TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA

January | 2020 | September

ANNUAL REPORT
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View of Washington Monument from the TCA Washington office.
Effective September 30, 2020, the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) will be consolidating its operations into its Concord, Massachusetts, office. Though its presence in Washington, D.C., will come to an end, TCA will continue many of its activities, including the Turkish American Legal Defense Fund (TALDF).

We, the TCA family, are happy and proud to have had the opportunity to serve the interests of Turkish Americans, to promote good bilateral relations between the United States and Turkey, to encourage Turkish American participation in public policy, and to raise awareness of the historical issues concerning Turkish Americans and their heritage. These efforts brought many successes in countering the enduring prejudice against people of Turkish heritage and answering the attacks against historians, writers, and politicians who presented a balanced picture of Turkey and its people. There is great need for these efforts to continue; we hope that the younger generation of enlightened Turkish Americans will join us in carrying the torch into the future. We encourage you to keep up with TCA on our website, and with its sister organization, the Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF).

Drs. Yalcin and Serpil Ayasli founded TCA in February 2007. Under the leadership of Drs. Ayasli and TCA’s President G. Lincoln McCurdy, the organization has been a strong advocate for a healthy and mutually beneficial relationship between Turkey and the United States and a prominent voice for the Turkish American community in the nation’s capital and across the U.S. As we close our Washington operations, we would like to summarize the contributions of TCA for the past 13 years both as a record of its achievement and as a guide for others who may follow in its footsteps.

### Congressional Outreach

TCA played a crucial role in encouraging members of Congress to join the Congressional Caucus on U.S.–Turkey Relations and Turkish Americans, known as the Turkey Caucus.

When TCA was launched in early 2007, the Turkey Caucus had only 62 members. Membership reached an all-time high of 160 representatives at the end of 2016. The Turkey Caucus shared the spotlight with the caucuses of India and Taiwan as one of the three largest bilateral relations organizations in Congress. Additionally, the Turkey Caucus had representation from all regions of the country, including 43 of the 50 states and all six territories.

TCA sponsored or co-sponsored 23 congressional member/staff trips to Turkey for nearly 200 participants. Some of the excursions also included stops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

TCA regularly interacted with congressional leaders and held three private discussions with the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. It arranged dozens of meetings for representatives of the Turkish American community with members of Congress.

For several years, TCA was a major sponsor of the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress’s programs for current congressional members and senior staff, including briefings and trips to Turkey. TCA worked with the congressional Black, Hispanic, and Native American caucuses. It was a sponsor of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute’s annual events and, with the Institute of American Indian Arts, funded an exhibition of contemporary Turkish and Native American paintings on Capitol Hill.
Hill. Additionally, TCA collaborated with other Turkish American organizations to sponsor programs highlighting the African American–Turkish connection through the arts.

TCA’s congressional outreach was critical in reducing the number of co-sponsors of the Armenian genocide resolution to below 100. Anti-Turkey legislation also decreased significantly, whereas the number of friendly bills/resolutions rose. TCA was a supporter of H.R. 2362, the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011, which would have opened foreign investment on tribal reservations, providing opportunities for Turkish companies. TCA’s backing of this bill was the first time the Turkish American community sought to effect positive change through substantive legislation in Congress. This year, TCA promoted House Resolution 931, congratulating the people of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Americans nationwide on Turkish National Sovereignty and Children’s Day. The introduction of the resolution provides recognition and commemoration by the United States Congress of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Turkey’s parliament.

**Outreach to State Governments**

TCA sponsored two trips to Turkey for the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG), offering 13 state attorneys general the opportunity to meet with the country’s president. One of the attorneys general later ran for state governor and was elected.

**Outreach to Other Ethnic/Heritage Communities**

TCA built bridges between the Turkish American community and other ethnic/heritage communities to generate goodwill and increase awareness of Turkish culture and Turkish American perspectives. Additionally, these links provided models for Turkish Americans to engage in the political arena and establish a powerful voice. TCA gave humanitarian grants of over $585,000 to relief efforts for natural and human-made calamities in Bosnia (Marshall Legacy Institute), Haiti (Cross International, Operation Helping Hands, and United Way of Miami-Dade/Florida), Mexico (Mexican Red Cross), and the Philippines (Filipino American Cultural Centers and Chambers of Commerce); assistance to Chaldean and Syrian war refugees from Iraq and Syria (Chaldean Federation of America, Turkish Chaldean-Assyrian-Syriac Humanitarian Organization, ReVi, Butun Cocuklar Bizem Dernegi, and Sureli Destek); and educational funds for underprivileged students in the District of Columbia (Eyes Wide Open Mentoring).

TCA has offered over $580,000 in grants and sponsorships to charitable organizations in the United States to promote the causes of the United Macedonian Diaspora (UMD) and the Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina (ACBH). This amount also provided financial assistance for the resettlement and acclimatization of Ahiska Turks in the U.S. from the former Soviet Union. TCA also gave funds to Paxturcica and the Azerbaijan Society of America for civic engagement events and cultural and educational programs.

TCA provided more than 500 scholarships to African, Armenian, Bosnian, Filipino, Hispanic, and Native American college students to study abroad in Turkey.

TCA sponsored six trips to Turkey for the faculty of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Hispanic serving institutions, and tribal colleges, and one trip for Turkish university faculty members to visit these institutions in the United States.
TCA, as part of its African American–Turkish Connections Through the Arts series, worked with HBCUs (including Howard University, Spelman College, and Morehouse College), Georgetown University, Gay Professional Men of Color (GPMC), and the U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office LGBT and Staff Association (FLAGG) to feature founder of Atlantic Records Ahmet Ertegun, James Baldwin, and Eartha Kit for their ties to Turkey.

TCA was instrumental in celebrating American Indian and Alaska Native Heritage Month with Native American and congressional participation. In collaboration with Yıldız Palace’s Library of Islamic History, Art, and Culture (IRCICA), TCA organized a special exhibit in Istanbul of the library’s Native American photographs from the late 19th century. These photographs were a gift to Sultan Abdul Hamid II from the Smithsonian Institution. TCA also collaborated with Hacettepe University to co-sponsor two American Indian conferences in Ankara and with Bahçeşehir University and Istanbul Technical University to sponsor Native American programs in Istanbul. Other higher education institutions in Turkey working with TCA on Native American projects were Bilkent University, 29 Mayis University, Middle East Technical University, and Ozyegin University.

TCA facilitated the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) grant of $200,000 to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (Oregon) to alleviate water needs. The Turkish government, with the encouragement of TCA, participated in the National Reservation Economic Summit (RES) in Las Vegas, which is the country’s largest American Indian business event. The Turkish delegation was the first foreign government to take part. TCA has also sponsored events for the American Indian Housing Council.

**Academic Outreach**

TCA granted over $2.1 million to the Turkish Studies Project at the University of Utah under the direction of Dr. M. Hakan Yavuz. It gave $230,950 for grants in programs and research to American universities and scholars on Ottoman and Turkish issues. TCA subsidized 23 university/college study trips to Turkey for over 200 students. It also organized lectures and briefings on U.S.–Turkey relations and Turkish foreign policy issues at universities and colleges across the United States.

**Turkish and U.S. Governments**

TCA maintained beneficial relationships with both Ankara and Washington, ensuring that each understood the issues of importance to the Turkish American community and the need for strong bilateral ties. Moreover, TCA briefed Turkish parliamentary delegations from all the major political parties visiting Washington.

**Business, Cultural, & Professional Associations and Think Tanks in Turkey**

TCA worked with the American Turkish Business Development Council (ATBDC), Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEIK), Global Relations Forum, Ankara Office of the German Marshall Fund (GMF) of the U.S., Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER), Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research (SETA), Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), American Business Forum in Turkey (ABFT), Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), Turkish American Business Association (TABA), Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), and Union of Turkish Bar Associations.
**American and International Organizations**

TCA worked with the Atlantic Council, Bipartisan Policy Center, Brookings Institution, Center for American Progress, Foreign Policy Institute of the Johns Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Heritage Foundation, Hudson Institute, Middle East Institute, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and World Federation of Consuls.

**Women’s Issues**

TCA has taken a leading role in promoting women’s rights. In collaboration with the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress and the Turkish non-profit Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KADER), TCA sponsored a study tour to the U.S. for 10 Turkish women politicians before the 2016 U.S. election. The delegates represented all four major political parties in Turkey. TCA also sponsored a conference organized by the Turkish Women’s International Network at the TCA office. TCA launched its own Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative with a forum on Capitol Hill, with members of Congress and congressional staff participating.

**Supporting the Turkish American Community**

TCA provided funding of around $500,000 through grants and sponsorships to two Turkish American umbrella organizations, the Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA) and the Federation of Turkish American Associations (FTAA). TCA also offered co-sponsorships or additional grants to the American Friends of Turkey (AFOT), American Turkish Council (ATC), American Turkish Society, Ataturk Society of America, Turkish American Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TACCI), Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association (TASSI), Turkish Heritage Organization (THO), Turkish Philanthropy Funds (TPF), Turkish student associations at American universities, and local Turkish American associations across the United States.

TCA also worked with the Washington offices of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MUSIAD), Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research (SETA), Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), and Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD).

TCA promoted grassroots activism from coast to coast by holding local and regional workshops for Turkish Americans on the importance of engaging in continuous dialogue with municipal, state, and federal elected officials. TCA also monitored Turkish Americans’ election to public office and encouraged them to become electoral candidates.

TCA provided the use of its Washington office conference room for Turkish American organizations and initiated a matching fundraising campaign in the community for the Mother Child Education Foundation (ACEV) and Ilkyar Foundation to support primary education in Turkey.

**Working with Turkish Organizations in Australia and Canada**

TCA President G. Lincoln McCurdy visited Sydney and Melbourne to meet with Turkish Australian leaders about grassroots activism and programs for youth of Turkish heritage. The Australian Turkish Advocacy Alliance (ATAA) and TCA sponsored webinars on Turkish issues for Turkish Australian and American university students. TCA has also
been a principal sponsor of the annual youth congress hosted by the Council of Turkish Canadians.

**Educational Awareness**

TCA awarded Dr. Justin McCarthy, professor of history at the University of Louisville, a grant to publish two annotated maps on forced migrations and mortality in the Ottoman Empire. The first map showed the forced displacements of five million Muslims and 1.9 million Christians from 1770 to 1923, whereas the second highlighted the death and forced exile of more than 1.5 million Muslims as a consequence of the Balkan Wars. TCA distributed these maps to members of Congress. Additionally, TCA supported the publication of Drs. Justin McCarthy and M. Hakan Yavuz books on the final days of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.

The TCA website has become a repository of information on U.S.–Turkey relations, PKK terrorism, Turkey and Europe, Armenian and Cyprus issues, Turkish history, Turkish minorities abroad, and reading lists and general resources on Turkey.

**Turkish American Youth Programs**

One of TCA’s primary objectives has been to encourage Turkish American youth to understand the importance of being politically engaged, learn about the functions of government, take a leadership role in the Turkish American community, and consider a career in politics. TCA provided scholarship grants to 70 Turkish American graduate students and sponsored over 200 university interns to experience the Washington scene by working in congressional offices and NGOs. TCA also sponsored six Turkish American youth leadership congresses for undergraduate/graduate students and recent graduates of Turkish American heritage. Participants committed to being active in American civic and political life, serving the Turkish American community, and advancing the TCA’s mission. The congresses hosted 151 delegates, including youth from Australia and Canada.

**Turkish American Legal Defense Fund (TALDF)**

Since 2008, the TALDF has promoted Turkish Americans’ civil rights by educating them and others regarding constitutional guarantees, especially open access to civic forum participation, politics, and free expression. The TALDF also represented before federal and state courts individuals who have suffered civil rights violations on account of their Turkish ethnicity. TALDF achieved significant successes, notably a retraction and apology by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). SPLC had falsely accused Dr. Guenter Lewy of being a foreign agent of the Turkish government when he challenged the Armenian thesis in his book, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide. TALDF defended the good name and integrity of a member of Congress falsely accused of taking money from the Turkish government to oppose the Armenian genocide resolution. It successfully partnered with the French Turkish Association for Objectivity in Teaching Turkish History, through legal and financial support, to achieve a legal victory in France for freedom of speech. After the decision by the French Constitutional Council, France’s highest court, there was newfound hope for being able to freely discuss late-Ottoman history without accusations of being a genocide denier.

**TCA Team, 2007–2020**

A special thanks to the devoted members of the TCA team who served under President G. Lincoln McCurdy as employees or
consultants in the Washington, Istanbul, or Concord offices. Their dedication, enthusiasm, and hard work assured the successful carrying out of the TCA’s mission. They are vice presidents Guler Koknar and Basak Kizildemir; operations director Louette Ragusa; program and administrative staff members JoEllen Byrnes, Arda Cankat, Elizabeth Clark, Kate Costello, Sevin Elekdag, Meltem Ercan, Nilsu Goren, Zeynep Guven, Carol Ann Jackson, Lawrence Cenk Laws, Sezen McDaniel, Sema Muslu, Gulhan Ozkan, and Beril Unver; website designers Semavi Dalkic, Hakan Dakin, Yalcin Doruk, and Mustafa Firat; legal counsel/TALDF attorney David Saltzman; TALDF attorney Bruce Fein; and our TCA interns.

Acknowledgements

TCA founder and chairman Dr. Yalcin Ayasli was honored by the Ataturk Society of America with the Ataturk Distinguished Humanitarian Award in April 2020 and by the Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA) with the ATAA Special Award in October 2019, in recognition of his outstanding leadership and service to the Turkish American community. In 2008, the Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association (TASSA) made Dr. Yalcin Ayasli an honorary member in recognition of his distinct contributions to science, technology, and public service. Drs. Serpil and Yalcin Ayasli were honored by the Turkish Philanthropy Funds (TPF) with the Excellence in Philanthropy Award.

TCA President G. Lincoln McCurdy was the recipient of the Gusi International Peace Prize in November 2018 in Manila, Philippines, for his work toward the attainment of peace and respect for human life and dignity.
Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) was founded in 2007 as an educational, charitable organization with a mission to:

- Foster friendship, understanding, and cooperation between the United States and Turkey.
- Expand Turkish American outreach to American public and private entities.
- Promote and advance the interests of the Turkish American community and Turks.
- Protect the character and ensure a realistic portrayal of Turkey and Turkish Americans in the media and the arts.
- Identify and recognize the achievements of Turkish Americans in academia, arts, business, education, government, public service, and science.

TCA’s work is undertaken by a professional team and interns from offices in Washington, DC and Boston.

TCA Leadership

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Chairman

G. LINCOLN MCCURDY
President

TCA Staff

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Educating the Public

Throughout 2020, TCA’s team monitored American, Turkish, and international media. TCA staff engaged with journalists through in-person and virtual meetings and provided fact sheets and information about both historical and current events regarding Turkish Americans and Turkey.

Another source of information for the general public is the TCA website, which features topical as well as in-depth information on issues concerning Turkish Americans and U.S.-Turkey relations. The website features an extensive compilation of reference materials, talking points, and resource and reading lists on Turkey.

In 2020 TCA continued its social media campaign to expand its online presence. In the last year, TCA’s Twitter, Facebook, and LinkedIn profiles reached thousands of people.
TCA Remote Summer Internship Program

This year, TCA's educational outreach culminated in the 2020 TCA Remote Summer Internship Program. TCA Program Director Lawrence Cenk Laws, with the help of Senior Intern Murat Alpa, collaborated with the other members of TCA to bring about a virtual summer internship. The incoming class of interns was offered an acceptance package consisting of nine programs to choose from. These programs enabled them to explore different areas of politics, activism, and organizational development based on their needs and interests.

Programs

1) Congressional Outreach/Turkey Caucus
Interns had the opportunity to engage with member offices of the Congressional Caucus on U.S.–Turkey Relations and Turkish Americans to help further TCA’s dialogue and mission on the Hill. One of TCA’s objectives was to increase the number of co-sponsors of House Resolution 931.

2) Turkish Studies Projects
With the mentorship of Professor M. Hakan, interns conducted research on issues regarding Turkish identity, especially in the pre-Republican era. Interns wrote pieces covering complex Turkish political issues from the pre-Republican era, submitted them for review, and received feedback from the professor, who helped them improve their writing skills.

3) Turkish American Women’s Leadership
Established in 2017, this initiative seeks to inspire Turkish American women from all walks of life to advocate for the Turkish American community in the political arena. The focus this year was on the campaigns of Ceylan Rowe, Aycha Sawa, Aylin Acikalin, and Leah Ersaylu.*

4) Turkish American Grassroots Efforts
Interns focused on the political activism of the Turkish American community and the Turkish American candidates for 2020. They learned about all aspects of the electoral and campaign processes and assisted in multiple Turkish American candidates’ campaigns for public office.

5) 2020 TAP Initiative
Interns worked on creating a Turkish American professional initiative group to connect Turkish American professionals across the United States.

6) Turkish American Lawyers’ Public Service Initiative
This pilot initiative was launched this summer. Its goal is to increase the participation of Turkish American lawyers in civil society and the political arena. Interns engaged in projects related to the initiative.

7) TCA/TCF Social Media and Website Development
TCA and TCF are in the middle of revamping their website layouts and enhancing their social media presence on Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter. The goal for this summer was to increase TCA’s following and officially launch our Instagram account. Interns in this program had a chance to improve their IT and social media skills.

8) Global Diaspora Engagement
Interns in this program coordinated with our Australian and Canadian counterparts to launch a series of educational webinars discussing pertinent Turkey-related foreign policy topics.

Investing in Youth and Education

TCA is proud of its pillar programs for youth that are designed to enrich Turkish American participation in public affairs and to foster future generations of Turkish American leaders.
9) Finalizing the 2019 Annual Report
The interns enhanced their writing and editing skills by revising the final draft of the 2019 annual report and helping to compile the 2020 annual report.

Internship Programming
In addition to providing a diverse array of programs, the TCA (with help from the interns themselves) offered a lineup of unique and educational lectures and virtual events for the participants to attend. Interns gained all sorts of benefits from these programs, ranging from firsthand knowledge of the electioneering process to education in Turkish culture and history.

July 26 and August 19, 2020
TCA continued its collaboration with the Australian Turkish Advocacy Alliance (ATA-A) by hosting two webinars in the summer of 2020. The July webinar featured Luke Coffey of The Heritage Foundation and Mike Doran from The Hudson Institute. The August event featured Professor M. Hakan Yavuz of the Turkish Studies Project at the University of Utah.

August 13, 2020
Electioneering 101 workshop with Aycha Sawa, newly elected Comptroller for the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

August 19, 2020
Turkish Americans on the Hill event with former TCA congressional interns Kyle Felent and Adam Littleton.

* Please Note: As a 501(c)3 charitable organization, the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is prohibited by law from engaging in activities that could be construed as political campaigning. TCA cannot and does not donate funds to a political action committee or support any political candidate or group of candidates. With this initiative, TCA is not endorsing or supporting any candidate for any office.
TCA - University of Utah Turkish Studies Project

Activity Report for 2020

The project entitled Memory, Identity, History, and Nationalism: Socio-Economic and Political Origins and Contemporary Challenges of Turkic Peoples of Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia, Including Relations with Modern Turkey (shortened to Origins and Contemporary Challenges of Turkic Peoples) aimed to explore the histories and shaping of contemporary Turkic-majority states and their relationships with modern Turkey via scholarly work, community participation, social media, and support for new research.

In 2020, the project undertook the following research initiatives, publications, and conferences.

Post-Doctoral Fellows

This year, we had individual and collective participating fellows. The first was Professor Mehmet Arisan of Istanbul University. Due to COVID-19, Professor Arisan could not come to the University of Utah and carried out his work in Istanbul. We conducted regular conferences via Zoom. He is working on a project that examines Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and the Republican imagination in the novels Yaban and Ankara. His research has been published in an article for an edited volume titled Turkey: Beyond the Modernization Thesis (Istanbul: Istanbul University Press, 2020). Professor Arisan is working on a book project on the role of nostalgia in the early Republican era.

The collective group of fellows included Professor Jamil Hasanli of Baku University and Dr. Eldar Abbasov of Moscow University. They are working to produce the first comprehensive book on the origins of the Karabakh conflict through a detailed examination of the Russian archives. We hope to have the finished manuscript by May 2021. Dr. Abbasov has also been researching an article on Turkish–Soviet relations from 1915 to 1939. His article is expected to be published in 2022.

2020–2021: The Ottoman Legacy and Images in Lebanon

This one-year interdisciplinary project started in February 2020. Three Ph.D. students (Aisha Jaber, Samir al-Husseini, and Taha Abdullah) are examining archives, novels, and poetry to explore how the Ottoman Empire in general and modern Turkey in particular have been represented in literature, art, and discourse. Monthly Zoom meetings are held with these scholars. Each participant is expected to produce a scholarly article based on his/her research by February 2021.

Graduate Student Fellow

For 2018-2019 and 2019-2020, the graduate student fellow has been Ala Mohsen, who is studying the Ottoman legacy in Yemen. Mohsen is exploring topics that pertain to international relations and comparative politics, with a focus on the Middle East. More specifically, he is interested in the dynamics of cooperation and rivalry between Turkey and the Arab states and how the historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire both enhances
and impedes their political exchanges. He also studies the role of international systemic conditions and transnational ideologies in reshaping and reorienting this evolving relationship. In his dissertation, he plans to investigate the impact of collective memory and “images about the other” on the construction of national identities, state formation, and foreign policy in these countries.

Publication Support

The TSP organized a two-day conference to examine the political experiences of the Muslim communities in the Balkans and of the Armenians in Anatolia. The proceedings have been published in the Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs Vol. 39, No. 3, 2020 (https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjmm20/39/3?nav=tocList).

The following papers are included in Minorities: Muslims in the Balkans and Christians in Anatolia (edited by M. Hakan Yavuz and Hakan Erdagoz).

Raymond Taras, “Islamophobia Never Rests in the Balkans: Muslim Communities and the Legacy of Exclusionary Nationalisms and Ethnic Expulsions.”
Mehmet Arisan, “Violence as a Means of Nation-Building: The Case of the Balkans (1890-1913).”
Hakan Erdagoz, “Reading the Eastern Question through the Prism of Orientalism: Hubris, Founding Genealogy, and James Bryce.”
Umut Uzer, “Ömer Seyfettin, the Balkan Wars, WWI, and His Criticism of Ottomanism and Minority Nationalisms.”

Brad Dennis and Christopher Gunn, “Armenians and the Cleansing of Muslims 1878-1915: Influences from the Balkans.”

The Turkish Studies Project also funded the following book projects.

1. William Holt, The Balkan Reconquista and Turkey’s Forgotten Refugee Crisis

During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, Russian troops, Cossack auxiliaries, and local Bulgarians participated in what today would be called ethnic cleansing. Tensions in the Balkans between Christians and Muslims ended in disaster when hundreds of thousands of Muslims were massacred, raped, and forced to flee from Bulgaria to Turkey as their villages were sacked and their homes destroyed.

In this book, William H. Holt tells the story of a moment in time that has largely been neglected in modern Turkish and Balkan history. Holt uncovers the reasons for this mass forgetting, finding context both within the development of the modern Turkish state and the workings of collective memory. Bringing together a wide array of eyewitness accounts, the book provides unprecedented detail on the plight of the Muslim refugees in their flight from Bulgaria, in Istanbul, and in their resettlement in Anatolia. In crisp, clear, and engaging prose, Holt offers an insightful analysis of human suffering and social memory.


During the last half century of its existence, the Ottoman Empire and the lands around its borders were places of constant political turmoil and unceasing military action. The enormous costs of war were paid not only by politicians and soldiers, but by the Ottoman civilian population. This book examines the hardships that ordinary people, Muslim and Christian alike, endured during decades of warfare.
Jeremy Salt brings to the surface previously ignored facts that disrupt the conventional narrative of an ethno-religious division between Muslim perpetrators and Christian victims of violence. Salt shows instead that all major ethno-religious groups—including Armenians, Turks, Kurds, and Greeks—were guilty of violent acts. The result is a more balanced picture of European involvement in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans, one that highlights the destructive role of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and other European leaders grabbing for Ottoman resources up to the end of World War I. The effects of these events are felt to the present day.

This extraordinary story centers not on military campaigns but on ordinary civilians whose lives were disrupted and, in many cases, destroyed by events over which they had no control. Disease, malnutrition, massacre, and inter-communal fighting killed millions of people during the First World War alone. Until now, this saga of human suffering has remained largely untold.


Since the 1st edition was well received, the publisher believes that a second edition with two new chapters, an index, and updated maps, as well as a new preface and foreword, will generate great interest in this important and contested subject. Based on the feedback received regarding the first edition, both the publisher and author agree that the new edition is strongly in need of professional proofreading and editing. This process could begin immediately, provided funding is found, as the new chapters and other additions have already been completed (a German translation based on the above-mentioned English second edition was published in mid-December 2019).

**Conferences**

1. **Workshop: The Clash of Authoritarianisms: Secularism versus Islamism in Turkey** (University of Utah, April 1, 2020, Salt Lake City, USA). A special issue on Turkey and globalization has been published in *Middle East Critique*. The Turkish Studies Project at the University of Utah organized a one-day workshop on April 1, 2020, that took place at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City and focused on (a) the AK Party’s evolving ideology, identity, and policies, and (b) the causes and consequences of the July 15 coup and its domestic and international ramifications. The workshop covered three broad sets of questions:

   a. **Methodological Issues**: How do we account for the current political crisis in Turkey and the challenge of democratic consolidation? What did we, as a scholarly community, miss in our earlier analysis of the AK Party? What are the ways in which to understand the deeper divisions in Turkish society? Does it make sense to interpret Turkish politics as a clash between Islam and secularism? What should be the new paradigm of the study of the society and politics of Turkey?

   b. **Context**: What are the major social, ideological, and political factors that led to the radicalization of the AK Party? How and when did the objectives and strategies of Erdogan change and how do we explain the divergence between professed ideals and practices? How did external factors and powers transform the AK Party? What was the role of Fethullah Gülen in regard to the coup and what will be the future of the societal Islamic networks? How is the coup related to international events and actors and specifically to the counter-revolution against the Arab Spring targeting countries like Libya, Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, Yemen, and Turkey?

   c. **The Coup and Culpability**: What are the arguments for and against the Gulenist involvement in the July coup? How credible
are Gülen and the GM’s claims of innocence and their assertion that the coup was staged? How did Turkish state officials react to the coup and why did they fail to detect it earlier? How should we explain the traumatic events between 2:00 and 9:00 P.M. on July 15? How did the coup reshape the relations between the state and society in Turkey? What are its impacts on key state institutions like the judiciary and education? How has the coup affected Turkey’s foreign relations?

The special issue, called Erdogan’s Turkey, was published in Middle East Critique Vol. 29, No. 3 (September 2020) and was guest edited by Hakan Yavuz & Ahmet Erdi Ozturk. It includes the following articles.

- Fumiko Sawae, “Populism and the Politics of Belonging in Erdogan’s Turkey.”
- Paul Kubicek, “Faulty Assumptions about Democratization in Turkey.”
- Mehmet Gurses, “The Evolving Kurdish Question in Turkey.”
- Bahar Baser and Ahmet Erdi Ozturk, “Positive and Negative Diaspora Governance in Context: From Public Diplomacy to Transnational Authoritarianism.”
- Hasan Kosebalaban, “Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy towards Syria: The Return of Securitization.”
- Umut Can Adisonmez and Recep Onursal, “Governing Anxiety, Trauma, and Crisis: The Political Discourse on Ontological (In)security After the July 15 Coup Attempt in Turkey.”
- Hakan Yavuz, “The Turkish-Armenian Historical Controversy: How to Name the Events of 1915?”

Panel 1: Ideas and Ideals of the Republic (9:30-12:00)
Chair: Ewa Wasilewska (University of Utah)
İştar Gözaydın (İstanbul, Turkey), “Ziya Gökalp: On Religion.”
Levent Köker (Professor Emeritus, Gazi University), “Nationalist Ambiguities: Kemalism and Islamism in Republican Turkey.”
Hiroyuki Ogasawara (Kyushu University, Japan), “Development of the Turkish Historical Thesis during the Early Period of the Republic of Turkey.”
Umut Can Adisonmez (University of Kent), “From Social Survival Mechanism to ‘Anatolian Nationalism’: Metamorphoses of Islamic Counter-Narratives in Turkey.”

Brent Steele, Chair of Political Science Department, “Welcoming Talk” (1:30-1:40)

Panel 2: Foreign Policy of the Early Republic (13:30-15:00)
Chair: Eric Hooglund (Middle East Critique)
Eldar Abbasov (History, Economics, and Law Research Institute, Moscow, HELRI), “Russia-Ottoman Relations After Bolshevik Coup: From the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Armistice of Mondros (November 1917-October 1918).”
Sevtap Demirci (Bogazici University), “Turco-Soviet Revolutionists 1917-22: A Search for a New Political Model for Turks or a Temporal Cooperation?”
Jamil Hasanli (Baku, Azerbaijan), “Turkish-Soviet Relations: From Neutrality to Escalating Tensions.”

Chair: Jamil Hasanli (Baku University)
Garabet K Moundjian (UCLA), “Armenian Involvement in the Kurdish Rebellions of the 1920s and 1930s in Republican Turkey: Trying to Map the Origins of ‘Hidden Armenians.”
Pam Sezgin (University of North Georgia), “Jews in the Cumhuriyet: Model Citizens or Tolerated Others?”

Friday, January 24, 2020 (9:00-9:30)
Opening Speech: Professor Refik Turan, President of the Turkish Historical Society M. Hakan Yavuz, University of Utah (Professor of Political Science)
Interpretative Approaches and Political Conflicts in the Inter-War Greece.
Serhun Al (Izmir University of Economics, Turkey), “Kurdish Independence, Turkish Anxiety: The Making of the Republican Raison D’état.”

Panel 4: Ideology and the Military (17:15-18:45)
Chair: Eldar Abbasov (HELRI)
Tamer Balci (University of Taxes), “Kemalism and Populism.”
Mehmet Arisan (Istanbul University), “Between ‘Revolution’ and ‘Counter-Revolution’: Contemporary Reflections of Turkish Republican Revolution.”
Ugur Cenk Deniz Imamoglu (Middle East Technical University), “National Historiography in Europe and Its Effects on Turkish National Historiography and Turkish Historical Society.”
Nihat Ali Ozcan (TOBB University), “Civil War and Victory.”

Saturday, January 25, 2020
Panel 5: Foreign Policy (9:00-11:00)
Chair: Sevtap Demirci (Bogazici University) Mesut Çaşın (Yeditepe University), “Peaceful Foreign and Security Policy of Modern Turkey During Its Formation Era: Resurrected from the Ashes of the Phoenix Stuck in the Sevres Vice.”
Eric Hooglund (Editor, Middle East Critique), “Iran’s Views of the new Turkish Republic, 1908-1941.”
Murat Önsoy and Kadri Kaan Renda (Hacettepe University), “From Bilateralism to Multilateralism: The Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy Between the Two World Wars.”

Chair: Michael Gunter (University of Tennessee)
Christopher Gunn (Coastal Carolina University), “Navigating the End of Empire: U.S-French Collaboration in the Ottoman Levant, 1912-1923.”
Ömer Lütfi Tascioglu (Scientific Consultative Committee of ANKA Institute), “The Political Causes of the Events of 1915: The Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation.”
Ramazan Gullu (Istanbul University), “Political Stance of Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate During Turkey’s Transition to the Republic and Afterwards.”

Panel 7: Literature and Ideas in the Early Republic (14:30-16:30)
Chair: Levent Koker (Gazi University)
Habibe Yazici Ersoy, “Obligation Modality Markers in Atatürk’s The Great Speech and Its Effect on Political Science.”
Kemal Silay (Indiana University) and Betül Tarhan (University of Georgia), “Kemalist Revolution through Literature: Representations of Islam, Islamism, and Patriotism in Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s Yeşil Gece.”

Panel 8: Political Culture and Leaders (16:45-17:45)
Chair: M. Hakan Yavuz (University of Utah) Mujeeb R. Khan (UC Berkeley), “The Past is Not Past: The Break-Up of the Ottoman State and the Continuing Crisis of the Middle East.”
Ahmet Erdi Ozturk (London Metropolitan University), “Turkey’s Diyanet in the Twentieth Century: A Double-Edged Sword.”
Building Bridges

TCA has enhanced its educational mission by sponsoring a diverse collection of scholarship programs.

TCA Study Abroad Scholarship for American Students of Minority and Heritage Communities

Through the TCA Study Abroad Scholarships for American Students of Minority and Heritage Communities program, TCA provides up to 100 scholarships per year for American students of African, Armenian, Bosnian, Filipino, Hispanic, Macedonian, and Native American descent who have been accepted to a study abroad program in Turkey, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, or Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 2020, TCA granted one minority scholarship to Ashley Morgan from Tennessee State University, bringing the total number of scholarships awarded to 505 since this program’s inception in 2008.

TCA 2020 Minority Scholarship Recipient Ashley Morgan.
Meetings with Turkish and American Universities and Organizations

TCA President Lincoln McCurdy Travels to Stockholm

On January 22-24, TCA President G. Lincoln McCurdy traveled to Stockholm, Sweden, to participate in the 19th Trilateral Strategy Group Meeting of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). The meeting was co-sponsored by the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), Koç Holding, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. The theme was the “Age of Anxiety,” with representatives from American, European, and Turkish NGOs, think tanks, and academia in attendance. President McCurdy briefed the participants on TCA’s activities, happenings in the Turkish American community, and the political scene in Washington.

TCA’s Chairman and Founder Dr. Yalcin Ayasli Receives 2020 Ataturk Distinguished Humanitarian Award

TCA’s Chairman and Founder, Dr. Yalcin Ayasli, was a keynote speaker and recipient of the 2020 Ataturk Society of America Ataturk Distinguished Humanitarian Award at the 100th Anniversary of National Sovereignty & Children’s Day and the inauguration of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. In his acceptance speech, Dr. Ayasli emphasized the importance Ataturk placed on science in our lives as we all face the impacts of the current pandemic, referring to Ataturk’s timeless, enlightening words: “Science is the real true guiding principle in life.”

Dr. Ayasli also reminded the audience of Ataturk’s wisdom in seeking lasting peace with former enemies, in advancing women’s equality and recognition in society, in endowing young people with a special responsibility to protect their nation and their future, his foresight in building a national industrial and agricultural base, his designation of not only science and education but also culture as the cornerstones of an advanced society, and very importantly, his strict separation of the roles of government and religion. A full video of Dr. Ayasli’s speech, is available on the TCA website.

The former Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Honorable Dr. Sukru Elekdag also participated in the virtual ceremony and relayed personal congratulations to Dr. Ayasli, highlighting his achievements and contributions over the years through the foundations he has formed. Excerpts from his remarks can be found here in English and Turkish.

The Legacy of James Baldwin

As part of its African American–Turkish Connections Through the Arts series, TCA commemorated James Baldwin, the author and activist who spent nearly a decade on and off in Turkey, living mainly in Istanbul. While there, he worked on his literary output and articulated his views away from the oppressive environment that was 1960s America.

The first James Baldwin event was held on June 24, 2020. The virtual screening of James Baldwin: From Another Place was followed by a panel discussion via Zoom. In collaboration with the Gay Professional Men of Color (GPMC) and U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office LGBT+ Staff Association (FLAGG), TCA broadcast the short film detailing the life and viewpoints of James Baldwin, a gay African American
Dr. Ayasli speaking at his alma mater, The Middle East Technical University (ODTU) in Ankara.

TCA President G. Lincoln McCurdy with officials from the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
who left the U.S. for Turkey. Baldwin wrote several novels while in Istanbul, including Another Country (1962), The Fire Next Time (1963), and No Name in the Street (1973). The work of Baldwin shone a light on the struggles and hardships that African Americans faced during the peak of the civil rights movement in the U.S. Nearly 60 years later, Baldwin’s call for political engagement and social activism remains relevant.

Another viewing of James Baldwin: From Another Place was held on August 2, 2020, to celebrate his birthday. It offered an opportunity for more people to view the short film.

In this documentary, director Sedat Pakay showcases the world from Baldwin’s unique perspective. The film was shot solely in Istanbul, where Baldwin was living and writing. Baldwin’s dialogue during the documentary highlights what black life was like in America, examines the influence of living abroad, and opens up about his private life.
In the Community

Since its founding, TCA has supported Turkish American organizations in an effort to strengthen the Turkish American voice through education and civic participation.

Women’s Leadership Initiative

In May 2017, TCA created the Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative to work with local Turkish American organizations and women’s groups to educate and encourage Turkish American women to run for elected office at the local, state, and federal levels; seek positions on governmental commissions; attend political conventions, meetings, and forums; and actively participate in political parties.

In 2020, the Turkish Coalition of America focused on highlighting the Turkish American women who ran for public office, from New Orleans to Milwaukee. Due to COVID-19, TCA showcased the progress that Turkish American women have made and the further steps they can take through online platforms such as Zoom.

On January 20, TCA hosted its first event for 2020, a webinar for the Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative. The webinar featured three of the four women from the Turkish American community who are currently running for elected office in 2020—Leah Ersoylu, trustee for the Newport Mesa United School District in Orange County, CA; Ceylan Rowe, state representative in the Massachusetts legislature; and Aycha Sawa, comptroller in Milwaukee, WI. Discussions centered around the candidates’ platforms, their interest in public service, and the challenges they face while running their respective campaigns.

Dr. Selin Yıldız Nielsen, a participant in the TCA Women’s Leadership Forum last year, spoke at the Washington Turkish House on February 9 about the American, European, and Turkish perceptions of the worldwide issue of refugees and migrants. The talk was sponsored by the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC), and opening remarks were made by TCA’s President G. Lincoln McCurdy.

TCA intern Tanem Zaman, a journalism major at George Washington University, conducted an exclusive interview on February 28th with Aycha Sawa, who aspired to be the chief financial officer (city comptroller) for Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The election for Milwaukee’s city comptroller was on April 7. Sawa qualified for the general election after coming in second with two other contenders in the February primary. She is one of the four women political candidates from the Turkish American community running for public office in 2020. In June, Tanem held her last two interviews. Interested individuals can read four featured articles on Tanem under the Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative section of the TCA website.

On April 7, Aycha Sawa, who participates in the TCA Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative, was elected as the 12th Turkish American to public office as city comptroller of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She is the first Turkish American woman to be the chief financial officer of a major American city and the second woman ever elected to city office in Milwaukee.

On June 5, the TCA Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative held a virtual meeting with Aylin Acikalin, candidate for judge of New Orleans First City Court, hosted by Tulay Spicker, Emel Songu Mize, and Dr. Atilla Ertan. Acikalin addressed the Turkish American audience about the race, her qualifications, and her positions.

Representative Gerry Connolly (D-VA/11th), co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on U.S.–Turkey Relations & Turkish Americans, congratulated Turkish American Aycha (Sirvanci) Sawa on her election win as Milwaukee’s newest city comptroller on April 7. In his letter to Sawa, he encouraged other Turkish Americans to run for public office.

TCA intern Pelin Ensari, a political science major at the University of California, Berkeley, had the opportunity to interview Fatma 25 24
Aytac, a founding deputy of the Kadin Partisi (Women's Party) in Turkey and chairwoman of the Red Pepper Association based in Istanbul. Aytac discussed the challenges women face in Turkey and the U.S. and their need for more political engagement. The article can be found here and is also under the Turkish American Women’s Leadership Initiative section on the website.

*Please Note: As a 501(c)3 charitable organization, the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is prohibited by law from engaging in activities that could be construed as political campaigning. TCA cannot and does not donate funds to a political action committee or support any political candidate or group of candidates. With this initiative, TCA is not endorsing or supporting any candidate for any office.

2020 United States Census National Partner

In March 2020, TCA became the first Turkish American organization to become a national partner with the U.S. Census Bureau. With this collaboration, TCA is trying to show how Turkish Americans can influence society today.

Turkish American Lawyers’ Initiative

In June 2020, TCA hosted a webinar entitled “Turkish American Lawyers’ Public Service Initiative.” The purpose of this event was to discuss whether the increasing number of Turkish American lawyers could play a role in advocating for Turkish Americans in local government and whether it would be beneficial if TCA were to create a lawyers’ group. The session was moderated by the first Turkish American judge, the retired Jay Karahan of Houston, Texas. It focused on matters of importance for Turkish Americans, as well as policy and social issues that affect the lives of all Americans, such as the widening of the income gap, poverty, discrimination, climate change, and human, minority, and women’s rights. TCA looked for participants who were Turkish American lawyers or lawyers who identified as U.S. citizens, permanent residents in the U.S., spouses of Turkish nationals or Turkish Americans, Turkish nationals who worked for U.S. law firms or companies, Turkish nationals who have attended American law schools, or American lawyers who worked for Turkish entities.
TCA established the Turkish American Legal Defense Fund (TALDF) in 2009 to protect and defend free speech, expression, assembly, and other constitutional or legal rights of Turkish Americans.

TALDF continued its mission year to protect and defend free speech, expression, assembly and other constitutional and legal rights of Turkish Americans. Efforts included addressing deficiencies in renewed Massachusetts legislation that would impact the state’s public-school social science curriculum in ways that would likely mischaracterize Turkish history and negatively impact Turkish-Americans in that state. TALDF analyzed proposed Texas state legislation that would misrepresent historical facts and demean Turkish Americans in the state. The Fund responded to inquiries by a sociologist regarding the civil liberties challenges of Turkish Americans and responded to journalists’ questions regarding programming to support Turkish Americans’ civil rights. TALDF also continued its investigation into a criminal conspiracy case that has targeted a prominent Turkish American. The Fund managed the renewal of a multi-year academic grant with the University of Utah. TALDF continued its engagement by addressing the Annual TCA Youth Congress, providing training on the American civil liberties framework and how to identify potential violations. Finally, the Fund tracked and, when necessary, responded to hate speech directed at TCA and its employees and donors.
A significant component of TCA's mission is to enhance understanding of the importance of U.S.-Turkey relations in Congress.

**Strengthening the Voice of Turkish Americans**

TCA has made it a primary objective to strengthen the voice of Turkish Americans in public affairs. TCA works to monitor legislation and issues discussed in Congress that concern the Turkish American community. It also regularly provides information and analysis to members of Congress and their staff on issues related to Turkey and U.S.–Turkey relations through bulletins and direct meetings.

**Supporting the Caucus on U.S.-Turkey Relations and Turkish Americans**

Throughout the year, TCA works with the Turkish American community to increase the membership of the Congressional Caucus on U.S.–Turkey Relations and Turkish Americans (Turkey Caucus). In 2020, the Turkey Caucus had 103 members, representing 37 U.S. states and four territories. TCA worked closely with the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on U.S.–Turkey Relations and Turkish Americans, Reps. Steve Chabot (R-OH/1st), Steve Cohen (D-TN/9th), Gerry Connolly (D-VA/11th), and Joe Wilson (R-SC/5th).

In 2020, TCA faced the unique obstacle of COVID-19. Although regular meetings with Turkey Caucus members were underway in the beginning of the year, they were suspended in March & April and resumed virtually in May. TCA sponsored numerous occasions relating to the mission of the Turkey Caucus, including facilitating the participation of Turkey Caucus members in Turkish American events, hosting meetings with representatives of the Turkish American community, promoting the work of its individual members, and integrating such TCA initiatives as its scholarship and Washington Summer Internship programs into the members’ own constituent services.

In January, TCA's Washington team met with Representatives Steve Cohen (D-TN/9th), Virginia Foxx (R-NC-5th), and Ann Kuster (D-NH/2nd) on Capitol Hill. Discussions ranged from current foreign and domestic issues affecting Turkish Americans to the upcoming centennial celebration of the Turkish National Assembly in April.

In February, TCA's Washington team met with Representatives Tony Cardenas (D-CA/29th), Tom Cole (R-OK/4th), Gerry Connolly (D-VA/11th), Virginia Foxx (R-NC-5th), John Garamendi (D-CA/3rd), and Joe Kennedy (D-MA/4th) on Capitol Hill.

During the months of May and June, after meetings with congressional members resumed, TCA’s Washington team met virtually with Representatives Adam Kinzinger (R-IL/16th), Ann Kuster (D-NH/2nd), Brenda Lawrence (D-MI/14th), Barbara Lee (D-CA/13th), Elaine Luria (D-VA/2nd), Michael McCaul (R-TX/10th), Alex Mooney (R-WV/2nd), and Joe Wilson (R-SC/2nd). Discussions ranged from current foreign and domestic issues affecting Turkish Americans to the co-sponsorship of House Resolution 931, congratulating the people of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Americans nationwide on Turkish National Sovereignty and Children’s Day.

TCA's Washington team met virtually during July and August with Representatives Don Beyer (D-VA/8th) and Deb Haaland (D-NM/1st). Discussions ranged from current foreign and domestic issues affecting Turkish Americans to the co-sponsorship of House Resolution 931, congratulating the people of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Americans nationwide on Turkish National Sovereignty and Children’s Day.
The Turkish Coalition of America is a U.S. tax exempt public charitable organization and your contributions are U.S. tax deductible. TCA is supported entirely by private donations. Checks can be mailed to: Turkish Coalition of America, 1510 H St. NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC 20005.