TURKEY - U.S. PUBLIC POLICY INITIATIVE WORKSHOP REPORT

OVERCOMING CHALLENGES IN TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS

JUNE 18th, 2008

İPM | IPC
İSTANBUL POLİTİKALAR MERKEZİ
SABANCI ÜNİVERSİTESİ KAMPUSU
ISTANBUL POLICY CENTER
AT SABANCI UNIVERSITY

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Executive Summary

On June 18th, 2008 Sabancı University's Istanbul Policy Center (IPC) held a workshop on **"Overcoming Challanges in Turkish-American Relations".** The event was a part of IPC's *Turkey-U.S. Public Policy Initiative,* which addresses public policies concerning relations between Turkey and the U.S.

IPC brought together both domestic and foreign experts in Turkish-American relations, academics, young professionals, members from civil society organizations, analysts and journalists.

The Turkey-U.S. Public Policy Initiative was created in May, 2006 to address public policies that have an impact on the relations between Turkey and the United States of America. The Initiative is inter-disciplinary in scope, seeks to build bridges between researchers and policy-makers, and strives to enhance the policy analysis skills of students and improve their understanding of the political and policy-making processes. In doing so, the Initiative seeks to increase Sabancı University's relevance and contribution to the Turkish, American and international policy communities.

Participants responded positively to the working groups we held as part of the 2007 "Trends in Turkish-American Relations" conference, and many expressed a desire for more in-depth discussion of ways to promote dialogue on Turkey-U.S. relations. As a result of this feedback, IPC organized a full-day workshop on June 18th, 2008 to allow participants to identify specific challenges facing Turkey-U.S. relations and to explore ways to promote constructive dialogue between the two countries. The workshop entitled "Overcoming Challenges to Turkey-U.S. Relations" brought together both domestic and foreign experts on Turkish-American relations, academics, young professionals, members of civil society organizations, analysts and journalists. These discussions were elaborated and built upon in further workshops held by IPC in July and September of 2008 as well as February and June of 2009.

During the morning plenary session participants shared their concerns regarding challenges to Turkey-U.S. relations. The wide variety of concerns that were raised reflects the diverse background of participants. In the afternoon, participants moved into small working groups, which were run by facilitators from Sabancı University's Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program.

The facilitators presented the guiding question, "What can or could be done to promote constructive dialogue on Turkey-U.S. relations given the following challenge?" as a way to spark ideas. Participants quietly wrote their ideas on blank pieces of paper (one idea per paper) and were then asked to share them with the rest of the working group. Ideas could relate to all levels: Track I, Track II, Track III/civil society, etc. and all sectors: education, media, policy, etc.

Once the working groups finished sharing all of their ideas, they were then asked to select the most important ideas for promoting constructive dialogue on Turkish-American relations. After choosing their top ideas, participants discussed ways to implement them, what barriers might pose a challenge for implementation and who might implement the ideas.

After the working groups met, participants reconvened and shared their reports in the plenary session. A volunteer from each group reported on the following:

- How many ideas were generated by the group
- The group selected _____ number of ideas as the top ideas to discuss
- The group had time to discuss _____ number of ideas in detail
- The group had _____ ideas for the implementation process

The Istanbul Policy Center would like to thank the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the United States Consulate in Istanbul for providing additional support for the conference. Thanks to all of the speakers and participants for providing such fresh and thoughtful insights. During such challenging times between Turkey and the U.S. it is important to provide venues where we can look through new lenses towards the future.

The Istanbul Policy Center promotes applied policy studies, and considers the social, political, and economic implications of public policy-making while taking into account future scenarios in connection with globalization and regional integration.

Program

Overview of Context for the Workshop
Ms. Christina Bache Fidan, Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University
Professor Ahmet Evin, Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University

Introduction of Methodology for the Workshop
Professor Benjamin Broome, School of Communication, Arizona State University and Visiting Faculty at Sabancı University

Session I: Generation and Clarification of Ideas
"Challenges facing Turkey-U.S. relations"

Session II: Selection of Top Ideas

Session III: Working Groups
"Ways to promote constructive dialogue between Turkey and the U.S."

Facilitation Team: Graduate students from the Sabancı University Conflict Analysis Program and Resolution and Political Science Program

Session IV: Reports from Working Groups

Session V: Wrap-up

Reception
Held by the German Marshall Fund of the United States

Mr. Zekeriya Akçam
Chief Advisor to
the Prime Minister

Ms. Ceylan Akman
German Marshall Fund of
the United States

Ms. Gülden Ayman
Boğaziçi University

Mr. Ali Arıkan
Sabancı Holding

Ms. Christina Bache Fidan
Istanbul Policy Center,
Sabancı University

Mr. William Bache
U.S. Army, Retired

Ms. Judith Baker
UDAŞ

Mr. David Barchard
Independent Journalist

Ms. Şerife Başaran
Center for Eurasian
Strategic Studies

Mr. Murat Bilhan
İstanbul Kültür University

Ms. Nakiye Boyacıgiller
Sabancı University

Mr. Benjamin Broome
Arizona State University

Mr. A. Tarık Çelenk
Ekopolitik

Ms. Ayse Betül Çelik
Sabancı University

Mr. Jörg Dehnert
Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Mr. Oğuzhan Ertuğrul
Turkish Foreign Ministry

Mr. Hüseyin Esen
Ekopolitik

Mr. Ahmet O. Evin
Istanbul Policy Center,
Sabancı University

Ms. Tara Hopkins
Sabancı University

Ms. Ebru İlhan
Turkish Economic and
Social Studies Foundation

Ms. Julia Jung
German Embassy

Mr. Tom Lyons
U.S. Consulate

Ms. Riva Kantowitz
Sabancı University

Mr. Eric Kasper
U.S. Consulate

Mr. Adam McConnel
Sabancı University

Ms. Arzu McConnel
McConnel Law Office

Mr. Grant McMurran
U.S. Consulate

Ms. Jennifer Morrison
Yeditepe University

Ms. Özden Zeynep Oktav
Yıldız Technical University

Ms. Esra Pakin
Bilgi University

Mr. Scott Pierce
Olmstead Scholar Program

Ms. Aydan Piker
Doğus Group

Mr. Hugh Pope
International Crisis Group

Mr. Kawaun Sankar
Georgetown University

Mr. Yigal Schleifer
Christian Science Monitor

Ms. Seven Sezen
U.S. Consulate

Mr. Murat Sofuoğlu
Ekopolitik

Mr. Ömer Taşpınar
Brookings Institute

Facilitators: Graduate students
from the Sabancı University
Conflict Analysis Program and
Resolution and
Political Science Program

Ms. Melis Bitlis
Mr. Athanasios Gatsias
Ms. Thomai Iasonidou
Ms. Elif Kalan
Ms. Ebru Kutlualp
Ms. Funda Özçelik
Ms. Natalia Andrea Peral
Ms. Alma Shkreli
Mr. Yagub Shukurov
Ms. Sena Suerdem
Mr. Onur Tanay
Ms. Ayça Taskın
Ms. Merve Tiryakioğlu
Ms. Nazlı M. Turan
Ms. Candan Türkkan

Facilitation Summary

The Facilitation Summary provides a bird's eye view of the top ideas, which were selected by the working groups. For additional information regarding each working group, please refer to the Working Group Reports Section on page 10.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

There is a need for greater and more diverse Turkish spokespersons represented in the American media (6 votes) (page 19):

- **Actors:** Representatives from the media
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Create a detailed database of key persons and institutions for outreach initiatives; incorporate Turkish academic diaspora; include the Turkish-American Business Council; provide training for spokespersons
- **Special Concerns:** How to encourage stakeholders to invest in better representation of Turkish persons and culture in the American media.

Enhance understanding and awareness of "the other" through structured political consultation, enhanced inter-parliamentary dialogue and increased person-to-person relations (5 votes) (page 11):

- **Actors:** Establish a coalition made up of think tanks, financial institutions and media institutions; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; trade organizations; cultural organizations including the Ministry of Culture; students; academics
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Revisit the Shared Vision Statement from 2006; coordinate with the Turkey-U.S. inter-parliamentary initiative groups; promote leader-to-leader dialogue at the ministerial level; create a Turkish-American Forum; establish exchanges between American and Turkish students
- **Possible Resources:** Political consultations; inter-parliamentary dialogue; person-to-person relations; contact with think tanks; NATO alliance; Turkish-American lobbying associations; Ministry of Tourism and technical ministries
- **Special Concerns:** How to set a comprehensive agenda and create incentives for individual donors to provide scholarships for Turkish and American students to study in each other's respective country.

Hold third-party mediated dialogue sessions (5 votes) (page 13):

- **Actors:** Establish a network of NGOs, MPs, political actors, academics, media, youth, community leaders, think tanks, religious organizations, business representatives, the public sector, and labor unions.
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Hold a facilitated dialogue series progressing from private sessions to public activities and from separate to mixed sessions.
- **Special Concerns:** How to create a private/informal space for the sessions to take place; how "transfer" is going to happen; how to fill the gap between the beginning of the sessions and the creation of an "active mass;" how to establish and promote incentives for dialogue

Further relations between Turkish and American educational institutions: Increase joint programs, exchanges for students and professors and research projects (5 votes) (page 17)

Encourage Turks to learn more about American culture in order to better present the Turkish case in the U.S. (from a Turkish perpective) (5 votes) (page 19):

- **Actors:** Turkish and American scholars and citizens
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Further study-visits and policy programs; increase funds for U.S. cultural diplomacy efforts; increase business ties between Turkey and the U.S.; provide cross-cultural training to diplomats; provide greater support for public diplomacy (financial, administrative and personnel); promote an emphasis on youth – as opposed to a hierarchical oriented approach; promote a global mindset among Turks and Americans; further language instruction in schools in both Turkey and the U.S.

Move the Armenian issue away from domestic politics. Realize the risks it poses to bilateral relations (4 votes) (page 11):

- **Actors:** Turkey, Armenia, diaspora of both communities, the U.S. and the EU
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Promote a better picture of Turkey to the American public and hold regular conferences on Turkey-Armenia rapprochement.
- **Special Concerns:** There should be adequate security measures so such a conference can take place in Turkey. There is an ongoing dialogue between Turkey and Armenia. However, the diaspora in the U.S. and France often creates stumbling blocks to Turkey-Armenia rapprochement. The Turkish story does not get the credit it deserves due to the situation in Turkey (Article 310, freedom of speech issues).

Establish sister city projects between cities in Turkey and Armenia (4 votes) (page 13):

- **Actors:** Local government; media; international foundations that can provide grants like the German Marshall Fund of the United States and other NGOs
- **Level:** Grassroots
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Establish academic, youth, art, and sports exchanges
- **Possible Resources:** Grants; funding from international actors; EU Town Twinning funds; NGO expertise and political support from stakeholders
- **Special Concerns:** How to get the consent of the parties and how to engage local level actors

Restore the EU Process (4 votes) (page 15):

- **Actors:** American diplomats should mobilize to support Turkish accession to the EU; Turkish leaders should articulate the EU process.
- **Level:** Diplomatic and policy community
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Encourage an EU leader to visit Ankara every month; EU regulations should be implemented exactly the same as in other countries; public diplomacy should increase; urge the UN to support Turkey on the Cyprus issue; encourage the EU Commission to allocate more funds for the Erasmus program; institute regular high-level U.S.-Turkey talks on Iraq and its future
- **Special Concerns:** The unresolved Cyprus issue and the need for high-level intervention in the matter.

Promote alternative media programs which present cultural diversity in both Turkey and the U.S. (4 votes) (page 17):

- **Actors:** Youth; schools; NGOs; Turkish-Americans; movie producers; municipalities; philanthropists; celebrities; athletes
- **Possible Resources:** TV, newspapers, internet; NGOs, "Seeds of Peace"; independent media producers; movie industry; philanthropists; athletes; celebrities
- **Special Concerns:** Lack of creativity; the "image of the Turks"; stereotypes; prejudices about Americans; popularity; marketability

Encourage more state-level visits between Turkey and the U.S. (4 votes) (page 19):

- **Actors:** Diplomatic and Congressional Representatives
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Increase informal meetings among stakeholders; identify influential stakeholders and invite them to Turkey (industry groups, academics, journalists); encourage institutions to hold international conferences in Turkey as a way to promote the country
- **Special Concerns:** How to raise funds to cover costs for U.S. Congress members to travel to Turkey; how to promote lobbying efforts on behalf of Turkey in the U.S. Congress

Encourage Turkey and the U.S. to converge on mutual interests, especially regarding Turkey's accession to the European Union (3 votes) (page 11):

- **Mechanisms to More Forward:** The U.S. should continue to support Turkish membership to the European Union. Since U.S. support for Turkey creates resentment in some European Union Member States, Turkey needs to be more proactive with regards to the accession process.
- **Special Concerns:** Objective obstacles for EU entry include Turkey's absorption capacity and large population. Artificial obstacles include Cyprus and the Armenian question. These should not be considered criteria for EU membership.

Produce a documentary with Güldal Mumcu and Raquel Dink to present parallel stories and to promote freedom of expression and coexistence (3 votes) (page 13):

- **Actors:** G. Mumcu, R. Dink, and production companies
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Storytelling, broadcasting, distribution of the documentary
- **Possible Resources:** Funding from NGOs, media (i.e. NTV)
- **Special Concerns:** Not to give the impression that human tragedy is being exploited for commercial reasons and how to find a creative director

Establish a Camp David Summit on Kirkuk involving Ankara, Erbil, Washington and Baghdad (3 votes) (page 15):

- **Actors:** Representatives from each respective government
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Encourage initiatives for stakeholders to be involved; promote continued democracy-building in Turkey; reevaluate the budget for Iraq, which includes allocating funds for socio-economic development; urge Northern Iraq to support Turkey on the PKK issue; encourage DTP to be a leader in solving the PKK issue; urge the U.S. to invest politically in solving the PKK issue

Establish an American social science research center in Turkey (3 votes) (page 17):

- **Actors:** Government; NGOs; business representatives; philanthropists; municipalities; sister cities; sister universities; Turkish-Americans
- **Possible Resources:** Government; major corporations (Sabancı, Koç, Doğus, etc.); private universities; educational centers for dialogue; EU funds
- **Special Concerns:** Skepticism; suspicions about U.S. imperialism; opposition parties; businesspeople; incorporating all legitimate organizations and institutions; ensuring a non-partisan approach; focus on security; increasing the number of secondary school exchanges; overcoming bureaucratic barriers

Promote exchange programs for journalists (3 votes) (page 17)

Broaden communication with diverse groups rather than just with the elites (3 votes) (page 17)

Promote non-conflict based initiatives for the Turkish-Kurdish issue (2 votes) (page 15)

Encourage partial amnesty for PKK members who can prove that they were not involved in criminal acts (2 votes) (page 15):

- **Actors:** Include participants from civil society to act as leaders in the process
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Abolish stereotypes of Kurds; promote capacity building efforts at the local level; launch pilot projects in Istanbul, Izmir, and Mersin, cities in which a majority of Kurdish people live; develop a comprehensive strategy to tackle the PKK issue; establish a similar system to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- **Special Concerns:** Reaction by the public to the idea of encouraging a partial amnesty rather than another repentance law

Working Group 1

Topic or Challenge:

The effects of the most pressing foreign policy issues

Ideas Generated:

1. Move the Armenian issue away from domestic politics. Realize the risks it poses to bilateral relations.
2. Create a joint strategic plan to ensure Iraq is a stable and productive member of the regional and global community after the end of the U.S.- led occupation.
3. Encourage Turkey and the U.S. to converge on mutual interests, especially regarding Turkey's accession to the European Union.
4. Regarding trilateral Turkey-U.S.-EU relations: a) Broaden the number of stakeholders within Turkish society; b) Increase the number of negotiators; and c) Promote better lobbying efforts and a more visible presence in Brussels.
5. Enhance understanding and awareness of "the other" through structured political consultation, enhanced inter-parliamentary dialogue and increased person-to-person relations.
6. Emphasize convergent interests rather than issues of disagreement.
7. Establish a strategic partnership on items of common interest.
8. On the Armenian issue: Promote better communication to address concerns between stakeholders.
9. Regarding Cyprus: Generate constructive dialogue: a) Results-oriented dialogue; b) Diffuse and depoliticize the subject.
10. Continue cooperation on the fight against the PKK until significant goals have been met by all parties.
11. Conduct timely and meaningful consultations regarding the future of Iraq, political and economic reconstruction, and the Kirkuk issue.
12. Promote civil and productive ways to agree or disagree on major issues.
13. Promote alternative avenues for communication rather than just ethnic lobbies.
14. Encourage the U.S. to provide funds so Turkey can meet the financial criteria for EU accession.
15. Deepen economic/commercial relations, which would include attracting more U.S. investment.
16. Diversify Turkish-American relations: energy, tourism, academia, science and technology, media, civil society, etc.
17. Encourage an overall productive development trajectory for our long-time Turkish friends without causing problems or being perceived as invasive (from the U.S. perspective).
18. Promote a democratic process which includes full participation by all citizens in Turkey.
19. Encourage more visible public diplomacy efforts on behalf of the U.S. in Turkey.
20. Encourage American institutions to look at Turkey as a democratic country and not necessarily as an Islamic one.
21. Democratic standards for Turkey should be judged according to international standards.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

Enhance understanding and awareness of "the other" through structured political consultation, enhanced inter-parliamentary dialogue and increased person-to-person relations (5 votes):

- **Actors:** Establish a coalition made up of think tanks, financial institutions and media institutions; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; trade organizations; cultural organizations including the Ministry of Culture; students; and academics
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Revisit the Shared Vision Statement from 2006; coordinate with the Turkey-U.S. inter-parliamentary initiative groups; promote leader-to-leader dialogue at the ministerial level; create a Turkish-American Forum; establish exchanges between American and Turkish students
- **Possible Resources:** Political consultations; inter-parliamentary dialogue; person-to-person relations; contact with think tanks; NATO alliance; Turkish-American lobbying associations; Ministry of Tourism and technical ministries
- **Special Concerns:** How to set a comprehensive agenda and create incentives for individual donors to provide scholarships for Turkish and American students to study in each other's respective country.

Move the Armenian issue away from domestic politics. Realize the risks it poses to bilateral relations (4 votes):

- **Actors:** Turkey, Armenia, diaspora of both communities, the U.S. and the EU
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Promote a better picture of Turkey to the American public and hold regular conferences on Turkey-Armenia rapprochement.
- **Special Concerns:** There should be adequate security measures so such a conference can take place in Turkey. There is an ongoing dialogue between Turkey and Armenia. However, the diaspora in the U.S. and France often creates stumbling blocks to Turkey-Armenia rapprochement. The Turkish story does not get the credit it deserves due to the situation in Turkey (Article 310, freedom of speech issues).

Encourage Turkey and the U.S. to converge on mutual interests, especially regarding Turkey's accession to the European Union (3 votes):

- **Mechanisms to More Forward:** The U.S. should continue to support Turkish membership to the European Union. Since U.S. support for Turkey creates resentment in some European Union Member States, Turkey needs to be more proactive with regards to the accession process.
- **Special Concerns:** Objective obstacles for EU entry include Turkey's absorption capacity and large population. Artificial obstacles include Cyprus and the Armenia question. These should not be considered criteria for EU membership.

Working Group 2

Topic or Challenge:

There is a lack of proper dialogue among stakeholders regarding Armenia

Ideas Generated:

1. Increase exchanges between journalists from Turkey and Armenia.
2. Encourage all actors to allow one another access to historical data.
3. Promote dialogue between all stakeholders and help define what the incentives are for them.
4. Increase academic exchanges.
5. Expand freedom of expression (e.g., Article 301) in Turkey.
6. Establish exchanges for youth and leaders of local municipalities.
7. Establish sister city projects between cities in Turkey and Armenia.
8. Hold third-party mediated dialogue sessions.
9. Produce a documentary with Güldal Mumcu and Raquel Dink to present parallel stories and to promote freedom of expression and coexistence.
10. Organize joint sports activities.
11. Increase international funding for Armenian historical sites to promote better cultural awareness.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

Hold third-party mediated dialogue sessions (5 votes):

- **Actors:** Establish a network of NGOs, MPs, political actors, academics, media, youth, community leaders, think tanks, religious organizations, business representatives, the public sector, and labor unions.
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Hold a facilitated dialogue series progressing from private sessions to public activities and from separate to mixed sessions.
- **Special Concerns:** How to create a private/informal space for the sessions to take place; how "transfer" is going to happen; how to fill the gap between the beginning of the sessions and the creation of an "active mass"; how to establish and promote incentives for dialogue

Establish sister city projects between cities in Turkey and Armenia (4 votes):

- **Actors:** Local government; media; international foundations that can provide grants like the German Marshall Fund of the United States and other NGOs
- **Level:** Grassroots
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Establish academic, youth, art, and sports exchanges
- **Possible Resources:** Grants; funding from international actors; EU Town Twinning funds; NGO expertise and political support from stakeholders
- **Special Concerns:** How to get the consent of the parties and how to engage local level actors

Produce a documentary with Güldal Mumcu and Raquel Dink to present parallel stories and to promote freedom of expression and coexistence (3 votes):

- **Actors:** G. Mumcu, R. Dink, and production companies
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Storytelling, broadcasting, distribution of the documentary
- **Possible Resources:** Funding from NGOs, media (i.e. NTV)
- **Special Concerns:** Not to give the impression that human tragedy is being exploited for commercial reasons and how to find a creative director.

Working Group 3

Topic or Challenge:

Lack of an integrated approach to the future of Iraq

Ideas Generated:

1. Establish a multilevel approach with regards to funding, actors, resources, concerns and mechanisms.
2. Include regional players in the planning and decision-making process.
3. Encourage dialogue on how Turkey can create successful multicultural policies (through education reform, government reform, etc.) involving recognition of the value of a pluralistic society as opposed to an ongoing politicized discussion.
4. Increase financial assistance for greater socio-economic development in southeastern Turkey.
5. Encourage dialogue with citizens' groups in the affected region. Include subjects which are relevant to local communities such as education, unemployment, etc.
6. Increase attention to socio-economic development in Iraq.
7. Encourage the U.S. to create incentives for economic cooperation between Turkey and Northern Iraq (Benelux Model).
8. Urge Turkey to increase the socio-economic integration of the Southeast with the rest of the country.
9. U.S. and Turkish policy makers should be supported by their own institutions.
10. Promote acceptance of multiculturalism in Turkey.
11. Further trilateral cooperation between Turkey, Northern Iraq and the United States.
12. Encourage Turkey to play a big brother role in Northern Iraq.
13. Encourage a resolution for Cyprus as an element of the EU process: a) Urge the UN to act as a neutral leader; b) Extend the UN's communication with the policy community in Ankara and Nicosia; c) Support both Turkish and Greek Cypriots in finding a proper solution.
14. Establish a Camp David Summit on Kirkuk involving Ankara, Erbil, Washington and Baghdad.
15. Encourage Turkey to establish a new Kurdish policy that is domestically and internationally respectable regarding Northern Iraq.
16. Urge the U.S. to create a clear and culturally sensitive foreign policy agenda for the region.
17. Establish exchanges, projects and activities between Turkey and Northern Iraq.
18. Promote constructive dialogue between Turkey and Northern Iraq.
19. Urge Northern Iraq to curb PKK activities.
20. Maintain security cooperation between Turkey and Northern Iraq.
21. Urge the U.S. to continue taking decisive military action against the PKK.
22. Establish a Youth Initiative which would include members from Turkey, Iraq, the greater Middle East, and the United States.
23. Encourage Americans to learn more about Turkey and the surrounding region.
24. Establish a comprehensive strategy to advance the level of education among long-term soldiers.
25. Encourage stakeholders to establish a comprehensive strategy for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq.
26. Promote Kurdish-related education in Turkey.
27. Urge the U.S. to foster a summit between leaders from Turkey and Northern Iraq.
28. Encourage partial amnesty for PKK members who can prove that they were not involved in criminal acts.
29. Restore the EU process.
30. Promote non-conflict based initiatives for the Turkish-Kurdish issue.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

Restore the EU Process (4 votes):

- **Actors:** American diplomats should mobilize to support Turkish accession to the EU; Turkish leaders should articulate the EU process.
- **Level:** Diplomatic and policy community
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Encourage an EU leader to visit Ankara every month; EU regulations should be implemented exactly the same as in other countries; public diplomacy should increase; urge the UN to support Turkey on the Cyprus issue; encourage the EU Commission to allocate more funds for the Erasmus program; institute regular high-level U.S.-Turkey talks on Iraq and its future
- **Special Concerns:** The unresolved Cyprus issue and the need for high-level intervention in the matter.

Establish a Camp David Summit on Kirkuk involving Ankara, Erbil, Washington and Baghdad (3 votes):

- **Actors:** Representatives from each respective government
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Encourage initiatives for stakeholders to be involved; promote continued democracy-building in Turkey; reevaluate the budget for Iraq, which includes allocating funds for socio-economic development; urge Northern Iraq to support Turkey on the PKK issue; encourage DTP to be a leader in solving the PKK issue; urge the U.S. to invest politically in solving the PKK issue

Promote non-conflict based initiatives for the Turkish-Kurdish issue (2 votes)

Encourage partial amnesty for PKK members who can prove that they were not involved in criminal acts (2 votes):

- **Actors:** Include participants from civil society to act as leaders in the process
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Abolish stereotypes of Kurds; promote capacity building efforts at the local level; launch pilot projects in Istanbul, Izmir, and Mersin, cities in which a majority of Kurdish people live; develop a comprehensive strategy to tackle the PKK issue; establish a similar system to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- **Special Concerns:** Reaction by the public to the idea of encouraging a partial amnesty rather than another repentance law

Working Group 4

Topic or Challenge:

There is a lack of education initiatives and overall dialogue on Turkey-U.S. relations

Ideas Generated:

1. Promote alternative media programs which present cultural diversity in both Turkey and the U.S.
2. Further relations between Turkish and American educational institutions: Increase joint programs, exchanges for students and professors and research projects.
3. Encourage the passing of the "cinema bill" in order to offer tax incentives and rebates to Hollywood.
4. Promote exchange programs for journalists.
5. Broaden communication with diverse groups rather than just with the elites.
6. Establish an American social science research center in Turkey.
7. Increase the number of existing programs and participation in AFS, Rotary, Lions and Fulbright.
8. Promote joint NGO projects on "problem" areas.
9. Increase programs in American studies at Turkish universities and more Turkish studies programs at American universities.
10. Increase communication between NGOs in the U.S. and those in Turkey.
11. Ease U.S. Visa restrictions for students and academics.
12. Organize small group meetings among university students to generate better understanding of the nature of the problems between the two countries.
13. Establish a joint project to focus on the national, historical, sociological, religious and/or political dimensions of each country.
14. Promote Turkish culture in the U.S.
15. Diversify educational opportunities for students, journalists, politicians, lobbyists, and business representatives.
16. Deepen cooperation with other Turkic lobby groups and communities in the U.S.
17. Establish high-level meetings to share ideas on secularism and the role of religion in society.
18. Research new ways to reach the American public about Turkey's point of view on disputed issues.
19. Establish summer camps to train Turkish-American youth on conflict resolution.
20. Increase leadership opportunities for young people in civil society organizations (think tanks, media, and humanitarian organizations), particularly for youth from Southeastern Anatolia.
21. Establish programs for diverse groups of young people to work t ogether (i.e. Junior Achievement Model).
22. Establish a distribution mechanism for NGO (unofficial) reports on crucial issues to overcome the assumption that the policymakers and the military define the decisionmaking process.
23. Promote better communication with youth to include the youth perspective when initiating programs.
24. Promote a healthier and less sensational image of the U.S. in the Turkish press.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

Further relations between Turkish and American educational institutions: Increase joint programs, exchanges for students and professors and research projects (5 votes)

Promote alternative media programs which present cultural diversity in both Turkey and the U.S. (4 votes):

- **Actors:** Youth; schools; NGOs; Turkish-Americans; movie producers; municipalities; philanthropists; celebrities; athletes
- **Possible Resources:** TV, newspapers, internet; NGOs, "Seeds of Peace"; independent media producers; movie industry; philanthropists; athletes; celebrities
- **Special Concerns:** Lack of creativity; the "image of the Turks"; stereotypes; prejudices about Americans; popularity; marketability

Establish an American social science research center in Turkey (3 votes):

- **Actors:** Government; NGOs; business representatives; philanthropists; municipalities; sister cities; sister universities; Turkish-Americans
- **Possible Resources:** Government; major corporations (Sabancı, Koç, Doğuş, etc.); private universities; educational centers for dialogue; EU funds
- **Special Concerns:** Skepticism; suspicions about U.S. imperialism; opposition parties; businesspeople; incorporating all legitimate organizations and institutions; ensuring a non-partisan approach; focus on security; increasing the number of secondary school exchanges; overcoming bureaucratic barriers

Promote exchange programs for journalists (3 votes)

Broaden communication with diverse groups rather than just with the elites (3 votes)

Working Group 5

Topic or Challenge:

There is a lack of understanding of Turkish political and cultural sensitivities (from the U.S. perspective)

Ideas Generated:

1. Increase the level of education of journalists in Turkey.
2. Discard references to Turkey as "Islamic" and judge it on credentials as a successful modern society.
3. Promote more independent coverage of Turkey in the U.S. media.
4. Promote greater cooperation within the policy community.
5. Establish more exchange programs for students and professors.
6. Acknowledge that Turkey is going through a political transition.
7. Promote an objective definition of the role of Islam within Turkey.
8. Urge the U.S. Government to establish a coherent policy towards Turkey.
9. Promote the introduction of Turkish language, literature, and cultural programs free from religious affiliations to schools in the U.S.
10. Encourage Turkish and American businesses to make financial contributions for films, cultural events and scholarships.
11. Encourage informed journalists and columnists to write more objective articles.
12. Avoid using the word "Islam" while defining Turkey.
13. Encourage the U.S. to allocate financial assistance to countries with large Muslim populations as part of public diplomacy efforts.
14. Encourage the U.S. to adopt higher ethical policies for cooperation between states (i.e., transparency, concern for human rights, and focus on civil society).
15. Provide more funds for non-military expenditures.
16. Promote non-military means for solving conflicts.
17. There is a need for greater and more diverse Turkish spokespersons represented in the American media.
18. Encourage Turks to learn more about American culture in order to better present the Turkish case in the U.S. (from a Turkish perspective).
19. Encourage more state-level visits between Turkey and the U.S.
20. Promote more commercial transactions.
21. Increase courses on Turkish history and contemporary politics at universities in the U.S.
22. Further cooperation among NGOs/think tanks/grassroots organizations and youth organizations in the U.S. and Turkey.

Selected ideas and steps for implementation:

There is a need for greater and more diverse Turkish spokespersons represented in the American media (6 votes):

- **Actors:** Representatives from the media
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Create a detailed database of key persons and institutions for outreach initiatives; incorporate Turkish academic diaspora; include the Turkish-American Business Council; provide training for spokespersons
- **Special Concerns:** How to encourage stakeholders to invest in better representation of Turkish persons and culture in the American media.

Encourage Turks to learn more about American culture in order to better present the Turkish case in the U.S. (from a Turkish perspective) (5 votes):

- **Actors:** Turkish and American scholars and citizens
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Further study-visits and policy programs; increase funds for U.S. cultural diplomacy efforts; increase business ties between Turkey and the U.S.; provide cross-cultural training to diplomats; provide greater support from public diplomacy (financial, administrative and personnel); promote an emphasis on youth – as opposed to a hierarchical oriented approach; promote a global mindset among Turks and Americans; further language instruction in schools in both Turkey and the U.S.

Encourage more state-level visits between Turkey and the U.S. (4 votes):

- **Actors:** Diplomatic and Congressional Representatives
- **Mechanisms to Move Forward:** Increase informal meetings among stakeholders; identify influential stakeholders and invite them to Turkey (industry groups, academics, journalists); encourage institutions to hold international conferences in Turkey as a way to promote the country
- **Special Concerns:** How to raise funds to cover costs for U.S. Congress members to travel to Turkey; how to promote lobbying efforts on behalf of Turkey in the U.S. Congress

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İSTANBUL POLİTİKALAR MERKEZİ
SABANCI ÜNİVERSİTESİ KAMPUSU
ISTANBUL POLICY CENTER
AT SABANCI UNIVERSITY

Sabancı Üniversitesi

Orhanlı-Tuzla 81474 İstanbul, Turkey
Phone: +90 0216 483 9116
Facsimile: +90 0216 483 9114
E-Mail: ipc@sabanciuniv.edu
www.sabanciuniv.edu