

FUTURE PARTY
PROGRAM

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ARALIK 2019

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INTRODUCTION

As we approach the centenary of our Republic, we know that with a robust vision for the future, the issues facing our country can be resolved.

The common feature of all the political approaches that have proven themselves unable to overcome Turkey's problems is the fact that their structures, forged in the traumas thrown up by the 20th century, are outdated and belong only to history. Now is the time not to stay stuck in the past but to move forward to a bright future with fresh horizons.

The people of Turkey see that those who seek to capitalize on our social differences and vulnerabilities cannot build our future.

They know that those who conduct politics through fear and taboos cannot carry the country into the future.

In the words of the great Mevlânâ, "Now is the time to say new things".

And now, only those who take inspiration from the past to build the future can say new things.



Only those who have unshackled themselves from fears and taboos can say new things.

Only those with faith in the present and hope for the future can say new things.

Our Party has set out with a vision of a just and prosperous Turkey where basic rights and freedoms are protected and where discrimination is brought to an end.

No problem in Turkey is incapable of resolution.

With a democratic mindset based on consensus and social reconciliation, an inclusive political vision, a competent team and a rational approach to governance, we can indeed resolve all our problems.

The key thing is our ability to demonstrate the will to transcend the level of contemporary civilization, walking shoulder to shoulder into the future consciously to carry forward the torch of independence and freedom lit under such harsh conditions by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his comrades.

The FUTURE PARTY shall take ownership of a political vision that draws strength from the freedom-loving, democratic values that will carry Turkey forward.



I. PEOPLE: THE SUBJECT AND FOCUS OF POLITICS: BINGEH Û HEBÛNA SIYASETÊ

Fundamental Rights and Freedoms: Guaranteeing Human Dignity

The foundation of our politics is the preservation and elevation of human dignity.

We regard humanity and dignity as the very basis of our existence, and everything else as tools in their service.

Our Party shall forge solutions to all the problems and challenges that we currently face and shall face in the future, solutions that are based on human dignity.

Any democratic government has to be based on its ability to nurture the capacity of all citizens to freely and equally to exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms. Our primary objective is to foster a political climate based on pluralism not just the majority in which fundamental rights and freedoms are beyond dispute or doubt, and minority and disadvantaged groups can exercise their rights without pressure.



As well as guaranteeing our ability to live in harmony and prosperity, universal human rights' standards are also of indispensable significance for the unity and vitality of our country. Our Party believes that the attainment of the same human rights enjoyed by modern developed countries constitutes our citizens' most fundamental desire and right. In order for fundamental rights and freedoms in our country to reach universal standards, Turkey shall become a party to international and regional human rights accords and shall fully implement the agreements to which it is already party.

No individual, organization or group shall be permitted to adopt irresponsible, insensitive or destructive stances on human rights. Our desire is for a public order that is conscious of the fact that every backward step on human rights also involves regression in our citizens' quality of life, their social environment of peace and harmony, and their economic welfare.

The restriction of human rights on whatever grounds is unacceptable, injurious to human dignity and destructive to social peace and harmony. Our goal is a legal order that fully delivers security of life and property, freedom of belief and expression, freedom of association, criticism and protest.

Our Party aims to make Turkey a prosperous and peaceful country where democratization issues have been resolved, social wounds healed, and problems relating to marginalization and people's sense of belonging eliminated. We regard our country's wasting its energy on indulging in division, marginalizing "others" and human rights violations as a great loss.

Our country should not be one in which the previous century's identity debates and complaints about the most fundamental human rights and freedoms continue. When marshaled, our experience of history, together with the wisdom and universal values held by our people, are sufficient



to bring resolution to our problems. The human rights-related issues to which our country and people have already lost many years can be resolved by adopting a genuinely ethical and democratic stance.

Every culture, language, faith and tradition that thrives in our country, with its astonishingly rich blend of cultures, is worthy of respect as part of our nation's common heritage. To disregard, defame, deride or in any way exclude or marginalize these cultural values constitutes a violation of human rights. We view the rights of all cultural identities to preserve their cultural heritage and foster their culture as a fundamental human right that must be supported by the state.

In this context, we believe that as in every democratic and developed country, the teaching and use of the mother tongue in education and social life shall serve to strengthen our citizens' sense of belonging to this land and to solidify social peace and solidarity. We also consider this as a strategic factor that will enable us to overcome the cultural barriers that have come between us and interrelated societies in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and Central Asia over the centuries. In order to eliminate any kind of abuse, it is crucial that sensitive processes of concern to various sections of society are handled through the agency of a common participatory, inclusive mindset. Our Party shall pioneer and support these common mindset processes.

The Kurdish issue was mainly caused by the lack of democratic rights in our country and the exploitation of this deficiency. The cause of the problem is not the presence of our Kurdish compatriots, but the fears implanted in the mind of the state as a result of the fragmentations that had occurred over the previous century, the restrictions that have arisen from these fears, and the activities of terrorist groups seeking to exploit these restrictions.

The solution, therefore, lies in avoiding all forms of identity-based discrimination and reinforcing the tenet that Kurds are equal and worthy



citizens of the country on the basis of a clear understanding of democratic citizenship. A significant distance has indeed been covered in this respect. Such an approach will neutralize the efforts of terrorist groups to foster the phony legitimacy of victimhood.

Secularism shall be interpreted in the broadest sense within the context of freedom of faith and conscience; any attempts by any section of society to use this principle to bring the faith values of all or part of society into conflict shall thus be overcome.

The state shall maintain an equidistant and egalitarian approach towards all religious/denominational/philosophical communities and ideas. In this framework, our guiding principle is freedom-loving secularism and a pluralistic understanding of religion.

With a view to meeting the faith- and doctrine-based demands of our Alevi compatriots based on their own traditions and the demands of modern Alevi organizations, their places of worship (Cemevi) shall be granted legal status while solutions to their educational and employment demands shall be found on the basis of equal citizenship, democratic consensus and reconciliation.

The demands and issues of our non-Muslim citizens shall be resolved on the basis of the principles of equal citizenship and freedom of religion and conscience; a strong political will shall be shown to prevent their exposure to any form of discrimination, and the necessary legal arrangements implemented.

Acting on its belief that the sanctity of religion and beliefs is of greater importance and value than any political objective or action, our Party resolutely refuses to use language that might provoke abuse. Regardless of the views and ideologies involved, a set of rules and practices shall be formed to overcome any attempts to consolidate political power by exploiting religious symbols and sensitivities.



No religious or secular structure shall be permitted to enjoy a privileged status within the state. Religious / denominational structures that should be working for the moral and ethical development of society shall be prevented from interfering in the rational bureaucratic mechanisms of the state by means of parallel structures.

Effective measures shall be taken to prevent and eliminate all forms of discrimination. In this context, anti-discrimination laws and regulations shall be brought up to international standards. In addition, ongoing work to prevent discrimination or eliminate existing discrimination and put an end to social prejudice shall be carried out with the collaborative support of civil society, the media and academic circles.

Our Party believes that citizen/state relations need to be explicitly elevated to fully democratic standards, in favor of the individual. Our view is that the life of society, the state and public order cannot function properly in an environment where the individual is not fully protected. The suppression and abolition of the rights of the individual by means of manufactured fears, weary rote memorizations, invented taboos, and approaches that violate fundamental human rights are an issue of national security. We believe that our country and state now needs to rid itself of this kind of fragility and vulnerability. We believe that a strong Turkey can only be built by strong individuals released from having to deal with issues relating to their sense of belonging to the country or the state.

In this context reform is required under two main headings. Firstly, our Constitution, which represents our social contract, should be redrawn in compliance with universal values and human rights, not only for the sake of these issues but with a view to achieving the goal of full democracy. The second point is the delivery of an environment to ensure the full and proper implementation of the law.

The experience we have gained through our history of democracy has shown us that constitutions and laws are not sufficient to safeguard



democracy. To deepen democracy, there is a need for a public and social ethical consciousness in which these values are internalized.

We believe that Turkey's democratization-related issues, in particular those of concern to our Kurdish and Alevi citizens, can be resolved by means of a broad awareness and robust channels of communication that embrace the entirety of civil and political society.

Human rights cannot be defended only through statutory measures and regulations. A society that is sensitive to human rights and reacts against violations is a sine qua non of a democratic country. We shall ensure that human rights are owned by all sections of society, safeguarded by everyone, and that a culture of human rights is created and made to take root. In this way we shall become a country under the protection not only of the law but also by the power of public opinion.

The effective protection of human rights, especially the prevention of the severe human rights violations of recent years and the removal of associated grievances, shall be the primary objective of our Party. The principal reason for us to steer towards such a goal is our desire to offer citizens the same rights and freedoms as enjoyed by individuals in the democratic world, and to protect them with the guarantees afforded by the rule of law. This will also serve to boost Turkey's prestige in the international community.

Our Party shall uncompromisingly implement a policy of preventing the systematization of human rights violations and punishing public officials responsible for such violations. Torture is a crime against humanity. Anti-torture measures shall be implemented transparently.

The necessary arrangements shall be made to strengthen and sustain the independent operation of national preventative mechanisms set up to reduce human rights violations such as the Ombudsman, the Turkish Human Rights and Equality Authority, and the Police Oversight



Commission. Every step shall be taken in order to facilitate the activities of human rights organizations operating locally, nationally, regionally and internationally without their being subject to pressure of any kind; human rights and fundamental freedoms shall be fostered and safeguarded by maintaining constant communications and consultations with these organizations.

The existence of an independent and impartial judiciary is essential for the full implementation of fundamental rights and freedoms and for our citizens to be able to enjoy their right to a fair trial. We shall ensure that the judiciary is uninfluenced by government, internal or external pressure groups. Judges shall thus be able to interpret the law without fear or favor, and society will enjoy its rights and freedoms without restriction.

One of the leading indicators of democracy is the ability of citizens to express their thoughts freely. Throughout the history of the Republic, the prestige of our country and the welfare of our citizens have grown every time freedom of expression has been enhanced. The spirit of a new social contract facilitating Turkey's goal of full democracy and contributing to our people's sense of internal peace and welfare will serve to inculcate the fullest freedom of thought and expression.

Our belief is that unless our citizens can express themselves as they wish, no really sound social harmony and order can be established, no productive economy emerge, no education system able to compete with the world exist, nor any justice-generating rule of law be established.

Based on this, the realm of freedom of expression should be delineated according to the standards set out in the international agreements to which Turkey is party. European Court of Human Rights case law is the most appropriate benchmark in this regard. The recognition of freedom of expression in our country in line with this jurisprudence will also serve to make subsidiary freedoms such as freedom of science and the arts, press freedom and freedom of assembly more secure than they are today.



An important point to emphasize here is Turkey's signing of the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950; the fact is that Turkey agreed to the right of citizens to apply to the European Court of Human Rights in 1987 and to the binding nature of that Court's jurisprudence in 1989. In addition, international agreements on fundamental rights and freedoms supersede national law according to the terms of the 2004 amendment to Article 90 of the Constitution. The restriction of freedom of expression in Turkey in violation of ECHR provisions and jurisprudence is incompatible with the principle of the rule of law.

For this reason, one of our Party's key objectives is the protection of freedom of expression, an indispensable component of democracy, in line with the principle of the rule of law and in order to end violations of rights in this framework.

Freedom of the press is a fundamental requirement of any democratic society that proclaims the rule of law. We shall build a system in which the press is not under pressure, is free of censorship or self-censorship, and in which journalists are not subject to arbitrary detention, arrest or trial. We foresee that transparent finances, ownership and management are important elements in the ability of the modern media to be independent and free. We shall carry out the necessary arrangements to ensure financial transparency in ownership of the media. A free and independent press not only encourages the free discussion and healthy resolution of all kinds of issues but also ensures that the press acts within the boundaries of the law by preventing decision-making organs from acting arbitrarily.

Balancing Freedom and Security: The Foundation of Social Legitimacy

The balance between freedom and security is an indispensable component in any civilized social contract. Freedom and security are vitally important in the establishment of a full democracy, not as opposing, but as reinforcing elements.



The establishment and maintenance of a secure environment is essential for people to be able to exercise fundamental rights and enjoy freedoms. The misuse of freedoms leads to the corrosion of an environment of security and peace, and the abuse of people's security needs to human rights violations, the deterioration of public order and the destruction of the rule of law. Our democracy will be strong and stable to the extent that it is built on the universal values of the balance between security and freedom and within the conventions of a contemporary state of law. Security, which we consider to be complementary and integral to freedoms, is indispensable to social peace.

We believe that it is a primary duty to provide a mechanism for security and justice that protects the lives, property, rights and freedoms of our citizens against all types of attempts to spread chaos, especially violence and terror that threatens public order.

As a country that has sacrificed tens of thousands of its citizens to military coups and to terrorism over the past sixty years, we believe that our security can be safeguarded in the most stable and robust manner through a public order that is based on human rights.

Our country has been confronting terrorist threats for a long period of time. Terror has prevented Turkey from achieving a full and entrenched democracy as well as striking our economy. Turkey has unparalleled experience in terms of every aspect of fighting terror. Our Party is fully aware of the fact that the fight against terror is a multidimensional issue. And we categorically believe that Turkey has the experience to distinguish the war against terrorism from the fight against the terrorist.

Turkey is obliged to maintain a strong battle against terrorism at home and abroad. That said, and with the inclusive approach necessitated by our bitter experiences, our historical legacy and the wisdom of our people, we envisage that terror can be relegated from being one of the main problems areas on our country's agenda by adopting ways of thought and



behavior that transcend day to day perspectives. Within this framework, the discourse and rhetoric of terror and the fight against terror must cease to be a trap that consumes Turkey's energy, damages social cohesion and blunts our foreign policy agility and flexibility.

Our view is that there is a need for 'effective legal supervision' as a key element in the sound maintenance of the balance between freedom and security. In the face of terrorism and similar threats, security practices fully regulated by law can foster peace, calm and public order. In the light of Turkey's bitter experiences in this regard, the country requires a guiding security doctrine that sees its principal duty as safeguarding freedoms and avoiding the generation of a security deficit.

Just as approaches that reduce Turkey's entire institutional structure, political differences and so-cial assets down to the issue of terror have failed to solve the problem, they have also imposed a heavy cost on our country. And just as instrumental and conjunctural approaches fail to eliminate terror, they also delay the establishment of the rule of law. In turn, as the rule of law is harmed, terror finds room for maneuver.

Full democracy, complete rule of law and social peace for everyone can be established; what is needed are inclusive perspectives and approaches to eliminate these vulnerabilities, not ones that pursue or exploit the issues caused by terror. Terrorism has always been helpless in the face of a political approach striving to build a full democracy.

The Republic of Turkey was founded on the deep roots of history and experience; it is far too strong to be threatened by manufactured fears. Our people are too intertwined to be divided and their love of country is too strong to allow a sense of belonging beyond Turkey. This love of country is our most valuable capital in the total elimination of terrorism and the establishment of full democracy.



Education: Intellectual Existence

Our Party regards education as one of the most fundamental human rights. One cannot inculcate a human rights consciousness in individuals who have not had the opportunity to develop their personalities through a good education. It is education that underlies individual development and is the key to the resolution of every issue in society. No power in the world is more important and enduring than the human resource. We shall place education, which we see as a process that can equip the human resource of our country to compete with the modern world, at the very center of our human resource development strategy.

We regard education not as a selection zone but as an area for the nurturing of qualified people; our understanding of education puts it beyond the realm of day to day politicking.

We see that 21st century generations cannot be forced and shaped into narrow molds. Our young people will be able to reach their potential to the extent that we rid society, the educational system in particular, of fears, taboos, intolerance to differences and diversity, and approaches that militate against ethics and justice.

We want our young people to be individuals who think, who question, who internalize democratic and universal values, respect differences, take a moral stand against all kinds of discrimination, master the knowledge of the modern world and can assume responsibility.

A high quality education is the most important tool in realizing individual and social wellbeing. Therefore, our fundamental principle in education is to provide a quality education for all our children. For a high quality education, we refuse to impose any official or defined ideology on students. Our children are too precious to be straitjacketed.



All fears and taboos that stand in the way of freedom of thought shall be torn up. Schools shall become places where critical ideas can be easily expressed and discussed. A democratic, pluralistic education system shall be built that regards diversity as an asset.

Turkey has the most centralized system of all OECD countries. Our constantly changing education system in which every significant decision is taken from the center has outlived its usefulness. We reject the approach that makes central bureaucrats the principal actors and decision makers in education. Our belief is that the principal actors in education should be the students, teachers and parents.

Education policies produced without sufficient discussion and debate inevitably become bankrupt after a while. For stability and sustainability in education, it is imperative that policies are determined through participation and extensive negotiation. Most policies relating to education that have been pursued up to now have failed to go beyond palliative measures just to save the day and inconsistent interventions. Therefore, a genuine 'system' in the field of education has not been built in Turkey. All levels of education have been more or less locked as a result of mistaken educational policies.

In this context, education policies shall be determined with the participation of all sections of society. Changes to the education system shall be implemented over time through a fixed process of planning and social consensus. Constant changes shall not be allowed to turn the education system into a kind of jigsaw puzzle.

Most children from poorer families in Turkey tend to receive a lower quality of education, and thus lower incomes, than their peers from more affluent families. In addition, gender inequality continues to exist. Even though girls are generally more successful than boys at school, the employment rate for girls and their level of income is lower than for boys.



Turkey's education system is far from being competitive with other OECD countries. The OECD's PISA and PIACC studies as well as assessments from other international organizations such as TIMSS and PIRLS show that the quality of Turkey's education system is below the international average. The high school and university entrance exams in Turkey reveal an overall quality issue and a wide quality gap between schools. In short, both national and international assessments show that a significant number of children in Turkey leave the education system lacking basic skills. As a result, the existing inequalities in the education system carry on.

A high quality education system has an undeniable role to play in making Turkey, with its young population, a strong and prosperous country. Due to its capacity to generate job opportunities and boost productivity, innovation and competition, education is a country's principal locomotive of economic growth and employment.

In addition, a high quality of education has a significant role and function in terms of breaking the cycle of poverty and reducing inequality in society. Therefore our aim is for every child to have access to a high quality education. Our chief objective shall be to ensure that all children leaving primary and secondary education gain a minimum level of knowledge and skills.

We believe that the diversity and differences that strengthen our nation constitute our most significant asset. By founding the Republic, the diversity that is our historical legacy has carried our country forward up until today. And today, we think that our education system needs a debate about democratic demands with diverse representation, and solutions befitting a modern state of law by overcoming all kinds of discrimination fed by fears and taboos. In a world where many developed countries have come a long way in terms of multilingual and multicultural education and training, we believe that Turkey should see its diversity as a valued capital resource.



It is important for social harmony and peace that all parts of society are included in the education system as well and as equitably as possible. There is a need for a participatory approach embracing all parts of society to rehabilitate the education system. The essence of this approach should be the creation of an education system in which there are no privileged ideologies and groups and in which the concept of an impartial state is fully adopted.

In education, a democratic stance shall be adopted that puts universal values and human rights at its core, regards diversity and differences as an asset, espouses a pluralistic rather than uniformist approach, and embraces all sections of society. In this context, all teaching programs and textbooks shall be updated in line with an approach based on universal values and human rights.

As emphasized in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the European Convention on Human Rights, education is an indispensable fundamental right for all children. Accordingly, we take a rights-based perspective on education.

We set out with the objective of providing every individual with access to a high quality education, regardless of their gender, ethnic identity, faith or sociocultural background. Our understanding is predicated on the all-embracing objective of delivering a first rate education to everyone, without excluding anyone.

We reject any notion that regards education as the domain of any official or defined ideology. We regard diversity and differences as a blessing; schools are the center of cohabitation.

Our Party attaches particular importance to expanding equality of opportunity and strengthening public education. Therefore, measures shall be taken to reduce the demand for private tutoring and courses.



State schools' standards shall be modernized to meet the educational needs of all students regardless of income or ability.

Among our key priorities is a commitment to focus on building up the teaching profession and expanding pre-school education. The teacher training system shall be reviewed and reorganized with a view to training outstanding teachers with the equipment and qualifications to nurture future generations. The sine qua non for rolling out a top flight education system is the balanced distribution of qualified teachers between different types of school and throughout the country. Statutory regulations shall be implemented with a view to boosting the quality, autonomy and prestige of the teaching profession. All appointments and promotions shall be made on the basis of merit and in line with objective criteria.

Pre-school education is the most significant step in preparing our children for basic education and must be expanded throughout the country. In this context, pre-school facilities shall be made accessible to everyone.

We shall instigate a full-scale mobilization aimed at improving the quality of education at all levels in order to enhance the knowledge and skills level of everyone in Turkey. In this framework we shall boost the support given to disadvantaged provinces and schools, eliminating issues relating to accessing high quality education at all levels. We shall ensure that everyone completing compulsory education has the basic knowledge and skills required to thrive in a modern society.

In addition to this, and in parallel to technological and professional developments in the wider world, it is crucially important constantly to update school programs and establish a well functioning system for vocational education. Training qualified people to furnish them with the skills required by the labor market will serve to raise employment rates.

In order to establish a higher quality system of higher education, academic freedoms will be guaranteed as a priority. Based on universal legal norms,



all restrictions on the academic freedom of students and academics shall be lifted. The Higher Education Council (YÖK), a product of the 1980 military coup, shall be unconditionally abolished. A more transparent system will be established that is more accountable to society. The autonomy of institutions of higher education shall be enhanced.

Every indicator shows that Turkey needs a fresh paradigm in education. There is a clear need for an educational system that enables every child to learn basic skills in the most effective possible way and through an inclusive approach. Education in Turkey must be addressed with a nonpartisan approach, in the best interests of children. When it comes to matters relating to the education system, we shall adopt a method of negotiating with different sections of society through consensual agreement. To this end, we shall extract education from the arena of ideological and political conflict. Our fresh educational paradigm shall be forged through an up to date understanding based on the common aspirations and expectations of our society, together with a unique synthesis of our society's historical experiences with the universal legacy of humankind.

Health and Sport: Physical Existence

We think of health, just as education, in the context of fundamental human rights from cradle to grave. All other human rights can only be realized by healthy, well educated generations in the future.

The subject of health is not limited to citizens' personal wellbeing. On the contrary, it is one of the most fundamental parameters shaping society. In this sense we treat health as a strategic security issue in national projections. Our country's total productivity and efficiency is directly related to the healthcare metrics of society and are determined directly by them. Good health and a reasonable quality of life should be counted as among the fundamental human rights of every citizen. Among the key problem areas facing the healthcare sector are access to good



quality hospitals and the unbalanced distribution of healthcare personnel between urban and rural areas and between regions, increasing pressure on the sustainability of healthcare services' financing, and progressively declining competitiveness in the pharmaceutical and medical equipment sectors.

In spite of the fact that our country has the youngest population profile of all OECD members, the number of medical examinations carried out per doctor is above the OECD and EU averages. Likewise our country is far ahead of other OECD and European states in the use of MRI and CT scans and the unnecessary use of medications, especially antibiotics. The failure to establish a proper chain of referral, the implementation of a process- rather than quality-oriented performance system, and the failure to institute the rational administration of medication leads to excessive healthcare consumption; this pattern of distorted consumption exacerbates inefficiencies in the Social Security system as well as posing a threat to a healthy quality of life.

City Hospitals have reached a scale at which they may disrupt the actuarial balances in Social Security financing. The issue of quality has been relegated to second place in healthcare as the notion that greater consumption of healthcare services will bring higher standards of health has taken root.

Foreseeing that the factors interacting with healthcare are in a state of constant and rapid change, and that the rate of this change is accelerating, our Party is committed to introducing a new service delivery model that:

Is able to allocate sufficient resources for quality-oriented activities by prioritizing preventive healthcare services to build a healthy future,

Anticipates the risks and opportunities to healthcare through big data analysis and artificial intelligence applications,



Benefits from deep knowledge and high technology in the framework of ethical values,

Treats people with human dignity,

Improves the working conditions and personal rights of all healthcare employees, especially our physicians and with particular regard to their exposure to violence, and restores the respect in which they deserve to be held in society,

Clearly defines the functions of all actors in the system, especially our medical faculties, and achieves their integration with one another.

Sport is one of the key requirements of an active, healthy society. The right policies on sport means more success, better individual and public health, a happier society, stronger social structure and lower healthcare and social expenditures.

Unfortunately, sports policies in our country, which have not been integrated into educational and social life, have fostered the misconception that sports can only be done professionally. A misguided incentive system has resulted in sports being confined to just a few professional areas. In addition, lifelong active sports participation has not been promoted in society, wrongheaded urban planning has failed to generate spaces dedicated to sporting activities and the streets and avenues used by people in their daily lives have become virtual obstacle courses. As a consequence, Turkey has become a country in which obesity rates are reaching dangerous levels.

Our Party will change and restructure the sports administration and education system, especially the ministries responsible for sport and national education.



Physical education classes, which are generally neglected on the grounds that they are not really a part of the education process, shall be meticulously monitored and in-school and inter-school sports competitions expanded. Using talent screening and spotting, students will be guided to the branches in which they are capable of success in sports, talented and successful athletes will be identified from an early age, and branch orientation will be carried out. Branch-based pilot schools will be identified in every province, where talented students will be trained by dedicated trainers and training programs. Measures such as quotas and financial assistance shall be developed to support the formal training of students achieving sporting success.

In collaboration with local administrations, outdoor sports fields to be used by all our children and young people for all games, principally basketball, football and volleyball, shall be expanded and necessary arrangements shall be made for the all-day use of public sports facilities by all citizens, especially students, throughout the year.

Positive discrimination measures through all sports policies and practices shall be developed for our disadvantaged and elderly people for them to be able to maintain physically and psychologically healthy lives and participate actively in economic and social life.

Based on an awareness that foundation education in sports is very different from advanced education, and that sustainable sporting success can be only achieved by athletes who have undergone the correct scientific training processes, special training programs shall be set up for the training of foundation teachers and trainers, including overseas education if required.

The capacity for sporting federations' autonomy to gain genuine operability depends on each of them being able to raise their own resources without public support. In this context, federations will be helped to generate alternative resources while efforts are made to develop



nationwide sporting infrastructure and activities related to their particular branches.

The full financial transparency of professional sports clubs and the prevention of fanaticism and hooliganism at sporting grounds are among our Party's priorities.

Culture and Art: Esthetic Existence

There are certain fields that build and sustain every society. In tandem with education, culture is a field that helps to build people up. It should therefore be treated as being of primary not secondary importance and evaluated within the general framework of human rights and dignity.

With the right policies, culture and art are among a country's key elements of soft and smart power. In this context, we need to learn about our own culture properly and become familiar with the other cultures of a globalised world.

There have been noteworthy developments in the field of culture and arts in recent years, especially in terms of infrastructure. However, as in many other sectors, there has been a dearth of progress in high-cost infrastructure investments, in our own society's learning about and embracing our own remarkable culture, in the development of long-term projects and programs in our shared cultural basins, and also in terms of cultural promotion. Yet it is meaningless to build physical structures without aiming to build up humanity. This huge problem in the field of culture is caused by a failure to put a proper value on people, their values and legacy, together with indifference, a lack of respect and discriminatory attitudes.

The fact that culture and art are relegated to the back row and that they are always associated with tourism rather than the field of education to which they are directly related, is a clear indication of this.



Unfortunately, our culture, which has continuously renewed itself through a process of interaction with the cultural basins with which it has had relations, and harbors a unique accumulation of knowledge and wisdom, has not been effectively transmitted and transferred to our young people.

Our Party envisions culture and art as a symbol of our society's rich identity and legacy. Attaching importance to our own culture makes us adopt a perspective that is open to the world. Therefore our fundamental principle when it comes to culture is an understanding of a national legacy open to universality. We have a conscious, open and complex-free concept of culture and art that serves to blend yesterday with today, today with the future, our own treasures with the world, and the world's treasures with our own values.

Within this vision and objective, we shall develop a productivity- and value added-oriented perspective for culture and art designed to contribute to the country's economy by creating the infrastructure and mechanisms to facilitate sustainable growth in sectors involved in cultural production.

With respect to public-assisted cultural and artistic activities, we regard a policy perspective seeking not to dominate art and the artist but to liberate them, expand their vision and horizons, as essential for the production of art.

For the development of art, we aim to establish a system of incentives prioritizing the inventive rather than financial flourishing of artists, and to create a freestanding ecosystem for the arts.

Family: The Keystone of Society

The family is the natural and fundamental component of society. Certain developments instigated by modernization and globalization have caused unexpected wear and tear and wrought changes on the structure of the institution of the family. The nuclear family structure that has become the



norm during this process of change has been followed by single-parent families, families without children and single-person family units.

Today, many societies face the threat of the dissolution of the institution of the family. This threat, a leading cause of the social problems encountered in this country, is associated with psychological problems inherent in the erosion of values, isolation and insecurity, as well as social problems such as violence, addiction and suicide. The institution of the family is therefore the leading element in formulating social policies designed to prevent problems before they arise. Reinforcing people's belief and confidence in the family will play a significant role in the implementation of policies for economic and social development.

Challenges in terms of managing the process of social transformation currently under way have made it necessary to integrate family policies with policies on women, children, young people and the elderly. Our Party aims to develop family policies based on a systematic, holistic approach that envisages the social and economic empowerment of all family members.

Demographic changes and differential employment policies have served to raise the prominence of family policies within overall social policy. After all, every policy under the general social policy heading directly or indirectly impacts on the family. As well as the delivery of policies in welfare states such as education, employment, housing and healthcare that have an indirect effect on the family, policies directly focusing on the family and family members shall be promoted in Turkey. We shall support initiatives to strengthen social responsibility among family members.

Postnatal leave, a component of family policy, shall be made more flexible so as to nurture the psychological development of mother, father and child. The differentiation in leave policies between public and private sectors shall be ended.



There is a need to create a diversity of safe and flexible employment models with a view to women, who remain at the heart of family life in spite of changing family structures, being assured a secure and healthy family / working life.

The arrangement of accessible, reliable, high quality, fee-supported early childcare and education in line with parents' needs is crucial in ensuring social equality in accessing these benefits. In this context, early schooling shall be designed not only with women's employment in mind but also the contribution of high quality early education to children's physical, cognitive and emotional development.

Marriage rates in our country have been on a downward trend, divorce rates on the rise. Difficulties in adapting to new conditions associated with the spirit of the age lie at the root of the problem. Practical and effective policies that take ongoing social changes into account shall be developed. We prioritize and encourage a family model based on democratic relationships in which responsibility is shared between women, men and children. We believe that the sanctity of the family lies in ensuring a happy, peaceful living space for every family member.

Women: Agents of a Democratic and Prosperous Society

Our aim is that men and women become fellow travelers in all areas of life as supporters who empower, rather than oppose, one another.

Our party stands against all discrimination based on race, language, faith or class, and stands for the principle of equality of opportunity against gender discrimination.

Democracy requires that women enjoy unconditional, cradle-to-grave equal rights against all forms of discrimination, whether based on race, religion, class or gender.



Based on our aim to achieve a democratic and prosperous society, a social, political and economic environment shall be created in which women can freely make choices about their own lives. These policies will serve to support women in equal measure without judging their life choices, be it motherhood and family or a professional and working life.

For the sake of a fair working life, the necessary regulations and monitoring procedures shall be made operational with a view to reaching international standards on issues including insecure work for women, wage injustice, bullying and cruelty, and the inability to balance work and private life.

In spite of the fact that women were granted the right to vote and to be elected at a relatively early date in Turkey, they have not yet achieved the political representation rates that they deserve. Based on our principle of fair representation, the participation and representation of women in politics will be incentivized and encouraged.

Violence against women remains one of the most serious issues facing our country. Inadequate judicial measures against violence also serve to highlight the psychological and sociological aspects of the problem. The participation and cooperation of all public sector and social structures of society shall be ensured with a view to resolving this issue without making any compromises on judicial measures.

Although there are common features in the problems experienced by women, women are not a homogeneous category; different groups have their own particular issues. In this context, besides determining overall policies for women, multifaceted policies shall be instituted in order to ensure that women's needs are most effectively met.

Children: Guaranteeing our Future

A physically and psychologically healthy childhood is a decisive factor in the course of an individual's life.



The most critical element in children's biological and psychosocial development is undoubtedly the family. The delivery of psychologically vital professional supervision, education and support should be among the priorities of the social state in order robustly to maintain the institution of the family.

Accordingly, educational and healthcare services that begin during the mother's pregnancy should be made high quality and accessible, regardless of social class.

Versatile, detailed preventive programs and practices need to be developed to address the causes and consequences of the neglect and abuse of children, and genuinely deterrent measures against such offences and crimes must be implemented.

Psychological support, care and education services must be rebuilt in order to develop preventive measures by creating risk maps to safeguard children.

Child labor, which we see as a human rights violation, constitutes our country's lost potential and future. We have a responsibility to enforce the rights and obligations stipulated in existing anti child labor law without compromise until such time as the results are observed in actual daily life.

Equal opportunity in education is an absolute must for our children. Delivering a multifaceted education to our children that is not swamped by rote learning and exams, and in which they can show and develop their skills and talents, is a key priority for our Party.

The digital world has a significant place in the daily life of children and adolescents and needs to be supervised, preventing harm without restricting freedom.



Supporting and encouraging talented children and adolescents in sports, art, e-sports and media production without negatively impacting their education and development will be a significant factor in our society catching up with the times.

The education system should not turn into an examination system. Children and young people should not be psychologically suffocated by exam anxiety in the context of a never ending race.

Young People: Turkey's Today

One of our country's principal assets is its young population. It is critically important that future policies are set out with a view to take advantage of this advantage rather than turn it into a disadvantage.

We want our young people to be individuals who possess knowledge, who think, question, internalize our universal values and traditions, respect differences, take a strong moral stance against violence and discrimination, and grasp the modern world.

The creation of an environment in which our young people can realize their potential, participate in education and employment with equal opportunities, and participate in the economic life of society as productive individuals, is one of the principal goals of our policies for young people.

Addictions that start in adolescence need to be tackled at the highest level; our young people need to be walled off from this swamp. The required psychosocial assistance should be set up in such a way that it is easily accessible to all parts of society.

The rise in drug use in our country in recent years is alarming. Taking the necessary preventive measures and developing the right policies will be one of our main priorities in saving our young people, who we see as the guarantee for our future, from the clutches of substance abuse, and to support their families.



Since our young people will be skilled, trained and productive in their chosen fields, delivering satisfying employment to them is vital both for them and the country as a whole.

For this reason, youth unemployment needs to be dealt with effectively, and this worrying obstacle to young people eliminated. Tough, uncompromising measures shall be taken to prevent child labor.

Young entrepreneurs' progress in commercial life should be facilitated bureaucratically and economically. Wide, propitious areas in which young people can add value should be opened up and opportunities for innovative ideas fostered.

Aware of and embracing local and universal values, socio-culturally and technically self-developing, taking responsibility, innovative, and able to channel their energies in the right direction, we believe that our young people are the driving force for our country as we look forward to a bright and prosperous future.

The Elderly: Social Cohesion and Respecting Experience

Just as in the wider world, the changing demographic structure of our country, the growth in the elderly population due to increased life expectancy and the decline in the birth rate are focuses of attention. Population pyramid indicators show that with a rapidly ageing population in the coming years Turkey's elderly population level is approaching the level of its non-elderly adult population.

The growth in the proportion of elderly people also reveals clearly the problems of this segment of society, which needs psychological, social, cultural and economic resolution. In the coming years the issue of the elderly is set to rise up on the national agenda as a problem area that we have not had to deal with before. Our Party regards this as a priority issue.



We carry the responsibility for ensuring that the elderly, being the key group impacted by the transformation from the extended family structure in which their status was assured, to the nuclear family structure, can lead a life of human dignity.

It is our elderly people's right that the state fulfills its duty to meet their care, supervision and safeguarding needs. Not included in the social security system, the elderly in particular face the threat of poverty. And with poverty comes social and cultural deprivation.

We aim to centralize the place of our human dignity principle in our elderly-friendly social policies, aimed at eliminating poverty and deprivation as the two main problems facing our elderly people.

Our sense of social loyalty and justice demands that we repay our debt of loyalty to those who have contributed to our country's prosperity through their work and experience, added to our national wellbeing and our social wealth through their intellectual and cultural contributions.

Our 'silver economy' strategy, which sees old age as an opportunity rather than a problem and turns our elderly into drivers of our economic and social development, will be revised and implemented in line with periodic requirements.

This strategy requires us to ensure the inclusion in working life arrangements of policies designed to assist elderly people who wish to work to find a job by filling in gaps in their professional formation, abolish the 'gray ceiling' and ageism in working life, guard against poor conditions at work, ensure income security, and support entrepreneurial activities.

The risks faced in later life can bring dependence on others. Poverty-related social exclusion and isolation shall be overcome by means of social policies designed to eliminate poverty in old age.



As a social process, it is not only the state that bears responsibility for mitigating the negative effects of ageing; it is a moral imperative for all members of society to play their part. Joint models in which professional carers and family members share responsibility shall be optimized in home care services for elderly people who need care.

Training programs shall be incentivized for the provision of care services by professional and competent people, and the skill and quality of the workforce in this field improved. Professional caregivers will be employed both at home and in institutions. Home and external care services shall be developed in line with standard models' medical, social and spiritual aspects.

Those providing care at home voluntarily shall be given financial and sociocultural assistance. Different care service models (continuous part time, fixed term full time) shall be developed and expanded based on individual and family needs. Individual and family-oriented psychological support services shall be provided on demand without compromising the medical and social quality of care services and taking into account the beliefs of the individual in need of care as well as the caregiver family members. Local government bodies shall give priority to activities such as counseling services for the elderly, senior citizen social clubs, elderly people's committee groups and old people's social organizations.

Importance shall be attached to projects aimed at creating a safe and healthy environment for the elderly, developing active aging behaviors, supporting joint projects between young and old people for intergenerational communication, providing environments in which the elderly can contribute to their own lives as well as the wider society as much as possible, and developing projects in which elderly people feel valued as contributors to society.

The 'Active Ageing' approach shall be activated, shifting from a 'needs-based' approach that assumes older people are passive targets to a



'rights-based' approach free of environmental, social and legal barriers, ensuring accessibility and accessibility, and giving people the right to equal opportunities and treatment in all areas of life as they age.

People with Disabilities: Policies for an Enabled World

The most fundamental problems facing disabled / disadvantaged people arise from challenges they face in integrating and adapting to social life. People with disabilities who have difficulties in meeting even their minimum social life needs often prefer to isolate themselves from society over time.

The expression "providing equal rights and opportunities to all citizens", a central element of the social state, needs to be reflected in policies covering all aspects and all sections of society. Turkey's disabled population, 12.29% of the population, needs more than just assistance with basic needs; they require real breakthroughs in terms of their participation in the life of society.

People with disabilities shall benefit equally from all opportunities provided to the rest of society; they shall not become or be seen as a burden to society but individuals who take their share of responsibility within society and participate in all processes.

All economic and social policies, their design and implementation, shall be developed with a mind to our principles of inclusion and accessibility for population groups with restricted opportunities. In collaboration with local administrations and civil organizations, all disabled people will be provided with the same accessible services as everyone, in all public areas, especially urban areas, workplaces and schools.

Disabled quotas for workplaces shall be effectively implemented to ensure the active participation of people with disabilities in working life. Vocational rehabilitation services shall be provided in order to design



working conditions in line with disabled people's needs and to help them to play a full role in working life.

Existing practices designed to support home care for people with disabilities shall be improved; a way of thinking shall be inculcated to enable the participation of people with disabilities in social, political, cultural and economic life. In addition, with respect to home care practices, supervision limited to financial matters is not enough: psycho-social guidance and counseling services shall also be provided to improve the quality of care.



II. SPATIAL ORDER: ENVIRONMENT AND URBAN PLANNING

The Natural Environment: Habitat for Life

The concept of environmental justice constitutes a key element of our vision of social justice aiming fairly, impartially and equitably to distribute and reapportion social and economic benefits.

Our Party embraces and encourages the equitable sharing of social advantages and disadvantages without seeking to take refuge in any excuses. Our priorities lie in preventing a structural situation in which environmental blessings and burdens work unfairly to the benefit or detriment of any section of society.

The causes of environmental pollution and the destruction of nature need to be understood and eradicated on the basis of the rule of law and the natural rights of all living things. We believe that environmental problems explicitly harm and imperil social justice as well posing a threat to the livable natural environment. We shall not permit discrepancies or contradictions to arise between our economic and social development and social justice objectives, and the protection of ecodiversity and a livable environment. We hold that environmental justice needs to be ensured in order to raise our quality of life and protect our resources for future generations.



Climate and Environment: Ecological Responsibility

The world is under unprecedented pressure from environmental threats and the destruction of natural diversity. A rapidly growing population, urbanization, economic and industrial activities and varied consumption habits are putting more and more pressure on the environment and the availability of natural resources. Scientific reports explicitly emphasize that climate change is driving the world in a very dangerous direction. Turkey too is undergoing bitter experiences of environment- and climate-related problems.

As UN reports show, Turkey is among the countries that will be gravely and adversely impacted by the threat of climate change. These effects include vital issues such as excessive temperature change, drought, depleted water resources, excessive unseasonal precipitation, forest fires, landslides, rising sea levels, and diminished biodiversity. By contrast, some of our forests and precious agricultural land are being destroyed by opening them up to tourism, large infrastructure projects and residential zones. Rapid urbanization and population growth further elevate the threat to the environment.

Since the 1980's Turkey has developed a legal infrastructure on the environment defining environmental protections in the context of constitutional rights. Indeed it is a leading country in terms of such legal frameworks. However, serious enforcement issues, negligence, insufficient monitoring, and setbacks in improvements in conservation policies continue to afflict the operational effectiveness of the law. Industrial activities, urban sprawl, excessive use of chemicals in agriculture and inadequate infrastructural systems, pollute the soil, water and air. Moreover, the anti-pollution rules and penalties that are supposed to prevent activities that threaten biodiversity and the quality of the environment have little deterrent effect since they are considerably smaller than the profits that can be made from such activities. Inadequate control, monitoring and supervision mechanisms are a major problem.

Climate change policies are not a subheading of environmental policy; climate change needs resolution through a holistic approach. Natural



habitats are not a sector. On the contrary, they are the fundamental parameters of all economic, social and cultural policy and investment. Turkey's climate and environmental policy needs to be developed using a multidimensional approach that takes into account the country's climate zone, its rich natural resources and its fauna and flora.

This approach will facilitate implementation of an environmentally friendly growth strategy and a comprehensive and holistic planning and coordination process without reducing the environmental and climate issue to the domain of a ministry or sector. We shall base our policy on an understanding and approach that aims to protect and develop the environment, natural resources, ecodiversity and biodiversity; put environmental conservation and protection at the center of all policies; and prioritize environmental awareness.

Urban Planning: Contemporary Interpretations of the Public Space

We want, and we know the people of Turkey want, our cities to incorporate a strong local economy, a competitive edge, and a breathing, sustainable, structure that respects our natural and cultural heritage in such a way as to harmonize the modern and the traditional as well as balance ecological structure with dynamic technological developments. Essentially, our urban planning policies will balance the principles of urban and environmental justice, cultural development, and economic prosperity and fair distribution, adopting an equitable, participatory approach for everyone. Our fundamental principles in formulating policy, determining their legal framework and implementing them shall be sustainability, popular participation and ecological awareness.

Cities encompass all aspects of social and societal life including social integration, business life, travel, commerce, entertainment and cultural events. It is not only politicians and planners who should develop the culture, identity and values of a city, but the city's actively participating citizens. Models of governance are required in order to raise our cities' quality and development level in all social, economic and physical aspects, with the collaboration of NGOs and all sectors. Therefore, models designed to boost civil society involvement in city-related decision making



mechanisms shall be employed; local government decision making and implementation processes shall be made participatory and totally transparent.

Planning principles shall be redefined on a country, region, sub-region, city and neighborhood scale. A planning approach integrated with dynamic city and regional information systems shall be determined from the largest to the smallest scale. Changes to zoning plans shall no longer be made on a parcel-by-parcel, but rather a regional, basis. And projects that would have an impact on a large section of society shall be put to the popular vote. In addition to new land and housing projects in our cities, existing construction zones shall be re-planned to facilitate mixed use and open them to transformation.

A planning concept shall be implemented based on each city's own internal dynamics in which appropriate and innovative residential projects and construction types reflecting the fabric and texture of the city are developed. These shall incorporate the renewable energy and other climate change and sustainability solutions that are such essential elements in the green economy. Green rooftops and walls and rainwater recovery systems shall be more widely used, and water usage regimes using recycled water and landscaping that reduces water consumption planned. Different land use types at the neighborhood level will be integrated with one another and plans developed to include neighborhood gardens, rainwater recovery / utilization, neighborhood forestry, car parks, sports zones, and solar / geothermal / biomass energy production systems.

To promote social inclusion in our cities, facilities that help meet the needs of all city residents, especially children, young people, the elderly, women, and the disabled and disadvantaged, shall be developed; easy-access parks designed for the elderly, women and children shall be built. Public spaces shall be created to facilitate quality interaction between different age groups. City transport planning shall prioritize pedestrians and cyclists. Our priorities include bicycle routes and parking zones giving access to natural resources and city activities within walking distance of first class public transport systems. Cities' tangible and intangible cultural



heritage shall be identified, preserved, re-functioned and revived in order to interact with today's urbanization. Policies shall be developed directly to connect our cities' cultural heritage with urban development and broaden people's understanding about the utilization and preservation of this heritage.

A policy of developing streets and avenues full of all kinds of trades and craftspeople shall be implemented instead of city shopping malls; axes of commerce, art and culture shall be determined in line with this approach.

It is crucially important to approach various fields ranging from energy saving to healthcare, environmental protection to fighting climate change, mobilizing local economic dynamics to original production, with smart city wisdom for tangible benefits. There will be a particular focus on smart city facilities and measures as dynamic tools for improving the quality of urban life.

In order to help solve some of our cities' basic problems, information technologies will be used effectively in all infrastructure and superstructure projects and all planning processes. Priority policy objectives will include the instant measurement of environmentally damaging factors with real-time city information systems, a focus on the safety of structures especially the monitoring of buildings, dams and roads during natural disaster and emergency situations, and the development of integrated platforms with time and energy saving smart networks.

A resilience map shall be drawn up for each city indicating its resilience against possible new situations, trends and all kinds of natural disaster.



III. PUBLIC ORDER: THE LOCUS OF POLITICS

Constitutional Order: the Foundations of the Social Contract

One of the oldest debates in Turkey centers around how the country can attain a fully democratic liberal civil constitution. The foundation of our economy, security, defense, unity and integrity has to be a liberal constitution. Turkey will not have a prosperous and democratic future without a democratic constitution.

The current constitution has undergone numerous amendments since 1982. Yet in spite of all these changes our constitution has not garnered a liberal, pluralistic structure. Our Party argues that the country deserves a new constitution, to be drafted from scratch with the widest possible participation from society.

Our Party takes the view that a fresh social contract based on human dignity, fundamental rights and freedoms, cleansed of remnants from the eras of military coups, free of taboos and fears, seeking no refuge in excuses and pretexts, and normalizing our society through consensus, is now an ineluctable imperative.



The Democratic System: the Political Structuring of Public Order

There is a direct relationship between government systems and democracy. The viability and reinforcement of democracy in our country cannot be seen in the light of a single factor such as the system of government. In assessing our democracy's life chances, factors such as the election system, party system, cultural characteristics, the strength of institutional structures, and social structure (income levels, population, ethnic and linguistic diversity or homogeneity etc.) need to be taken into account.

There are three critical criteria to ensure our system of government is democratic: compliance with the principle of the rule of law; constitutional guarantees of rights and freedoms; and the existence of balance / supervision mechanisms. It is these three benchmarks that determine the extent to which systems are democratic, regardless of the system of government. Systems are democratically robust when they meet these criteria, democratically weak the further they move away from them.

One can hardly say that either the Parliamentary System as implemented in Turkey until 2016, or the Presidential System adopted by the 2016 referendum, met or meets these democratic benchmarks. The Parliamentary System, amended on account of the problems it threw up in terms of democracy and effective administration and a far throw from what a parliamentary system should be, and the similarly ruptured Presidential System that replaced it, share similar weaknesses in terms of democracy and effective administration.

The Presidential System was constructed with the idea of increasing the power of the executive branch over the legislature and judiciary in almost every field, and transferring as much power as possible to the executive. The Presidential System of Government, which claimed to come into force on the basis of democratic presidential systems elsewhere on the expectation of the strict separation of the legislative and executive branches, has only led to the emergence of much graver structural issues.



This system, which has brought the separate roles of the legislature and executive to an end, wrecked the legal hierarchy, replaced the separation of powers with the unification of powers, and rendered the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and being a Member of Parliament meaningless, has not damaged only the rule of law; it has also destroyed the essential nature of politics and political parties through the establishment of a problematic order of alliance blocs instead of lifting the election threshold.

The maintenance of a democratic social order will not be possible for so long as this system continues.

Taking our country's current structure and historical experience into consideration, we argue for a democratic parliamentary system free of any kind of tutelage.

Central Government: Holistic, Inclusive and Effective Public Administration

Ensuring the effectiveness, institutionalization and transparency of public administration remains one of Turkey's most significant issues. There is broad agreement on the reality of governance issues in society and politics. Practices in government that create rather than resolve problems, generate rather than overcome uncertainty, shake people's trust and sense of justice rather than acting on merit and participative principles, are insensitive and disrespectful of citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms, and lack the basic qualifications of good governance such as transparency, accountability and predictability, have come to predominate in public administration. There is a need to bring this lamentable state of affairs to an end and restructure public administration.

Our country's central government has been transformed by the Presidential System of Government. A cumbersome central administration that had difficulties in managing the relationship between the center and the provinces, was unable to speed up central decision making processes, and did not allow local administrations to play an effective role in governance, has been further constricted by the new system.



Central government discussions that had been conducted on the central-provincial axis have now been largely replaced by a Presidency-centered system of administration. The new center is the Presidency while the ministries have to a large extent been relegated to provincial functions. This state of affairs has entirely changed the longstanding debate on governance in Turkey.

As well as the new system's contraction in decision making processes and the exercise of authority together with inherent issues of efficiency, effectiveness and trust, it has also caused a sharp decline in democratic standards.

Our Party believes that Turkey needs a world class system of central government. Almost all public administration operates in or around the center. Turkey's geographic size and population makes center-heavy governance problematic. In addition, the Presidential System of Government further centralizes an already over-centralized structure.

Our party sees the need to implement the localized and on-the-ground government that our country so urgently requires by means of a holistic and inclusive approach from the center and a redefinition of the duties to be carried out at the local level. We regard a merit-based, respectful, accountable, transparent and effective public administration that prioritizes participation in central and local government, minimizes red tape, and bases all its work and transactions on objective criteria, as a non-negotiable objective.

Our Party regards the fear- and taboo- based barriers thrown up in the way of reform up to now as nothing more than spurious excuses. Taking refuge in fears and taboos and failing to reform government and governance has led to a fall in the quality of public services delivered to our citizens, the inefficient use of public resources, and, most importantly, the corrosion of the rule of law.

Public services are provided by the resources generated by citizens' taxes. Our party is aware of the responsibility stemming from this basic



reality and envisages transparent auditing and supervision. Our citizens have the right to question and control the public services they receive in return for their taxes. The principle that the ultimate auditor of public personnel and services is the public must be put into practice. The fact that the provision of public services is not a privilege but a duty towards citizens should be beyond dispute. One of the primary goals of our Party is to eliminate a public sector mindset that fails to feel a sense of responsibility towards the citizen. Our Party argues that the public sector must cease to be a focal point for the accumulation of power and capital in a fully democratic state of law.

The strength of the public sector should manifest itself in the quality of the services it provides to the public, and the productive and fair utilization of the resources of economic size. Turkey should be a country in which citizens receive services on an equal basis without living in fear of public authorities and institutions.

Our Party opposes any and all discriminatory policy, visible and invisible, in delivering public services to the public. We believe that all discriminatory, marginalizing and anti-equality practices, especially those that are invisible, must be totally eliminated. All aspects of public administration must act equally towards all members of the public in order to be able to make our desire for the establishment of a state of law and a fully democratic Turkey a reality.

Our citizens should not bear the political, social and economic costs of a cumbersome centralized administration. Our Party shall provide Turkey, with its centuries of tradition of governance, with an update for a simplified, well-functioning public administration update. We shall ensure a system of public administration that does not add to but lightens the burden on our citizens, does not complicate economic activity but creates a competitive economic base, and does not waste, but efficiently utilizes, human and material resources.

Employment in the central government system should be regulated in an economically rational and sustainable manner in order to achieve an



efficient, effective and reliable state mechanism free of current burdens. We envisage the broadest possible utilization of market tools in the production of public services, eliminating public intervention that disrupts free competition and rational resource allocation. The public and private sectors should be complementary to one another rather than competitors.

Our Party believes that as the area in which the state has a natural monopoly narrows the private sector can expand and compete with the world; as the public sector is administered more and more at a local level, democracy shall grow stronger. Our view is that the primary responsibility of the public sector is to lay the ground for markets to develop and flourish.

Our reform of the central administration will be comprehensive. We believe that central administrative units need restructuring, in terms of their duties and functions, public sector financial administration, public procurement, personnel regimes and auditing. Our Party envisages opening up the space for decentralization to the maximum extent possible while also consolidating the efficiency, effectiveness and reliability of the central administration.

We believe in the absolute need for structural reform starting with the system of government for public sector administration based on universal standards as our people's right as well as a requirement of the economy.

On the question of reforming the current problematic central government structure, our objective is to establish law-based operation as the overarching principle in public administration, without compromising the principle of the separation of the powers and by empowering the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The Council of Ministers system, a key element in the hierarchy in our public administration that has embodied the common mindset and collective responsibility of the public sector as a whole, shall be reestablished.



Ministries and their fields of responsibility shall be redefined with a shared participatory mindset. The structure of the ministries to be formed within this framework shall be determined by laws passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Ministries' duties, authority and responsibilities shall be fully separated and all authority on any particular subject shall be gathered in a single ministry. Subjects that fall within the domain of numerous ministries and constitute a major source of disruption in the current system of public administration shall thus be handled within a single body.

We shall return to the Undersecretariat system, which represents the institutional memory and legacy in ministries and coordinates the bureaucracy as its ultimate decision making body and the bridge between the bureaucracy and the political world. We shall remove obstacles to supervisory and regulatory institutions becoming more independent, effective, efficient and reliable, and pave the way for the Turkish Grand National Assembly to play a more decisive role in these institutions.

In an age when the technological revolution has surpassed all boundaries of age, education, income and geography, and in which each individual has the opportunity to be continuously included in administrative processes, the central administration network must be thoroughly revised. The role and importance of e-state practices has grown. It is now possible to carry out a wide range of services easily and with the aid of technology, without face to face contact with central or local administrations.

Progress has already been made in this field, but e-state practices and applications shall be expanded throughout the public sector within a strategic framework. All institutions, units and provincial organizations involved in carrying out the same operations shall be reviewed with a view to simplification.



Local Administrations: On-the-Ground Governance with the People

The most fundamental and significant problem of central government is its accumulated administrative burden. Our vision is that the principal condition of a strong central government is the weight given, and the space opened up, to decentralization. Our Party believes that the more local the structure of public administration the stronger it is, the more centralized the weaker. As in the examples of many successful countries in the world, Turkey has an urgent need for effective and efficient localization and on-the-ground administration for the sake of a productive and sustainable central government.

Our Party sees local government as an administrative issue as well as one that concerns the strengthening of our democracy. We know that democracy starts locally and needs to be built on solid local foundations. We think that democracy and governance that starts at the center and spreads out to the periphery ultimately forge inefficient, ineffective governance of questionable reliability. Every administrative system that empowers the center with excessive and unnecessary power is a source of bureaucratic and economic inefficiency.

Unmentionable fears and taboos surrounding attempts to talk about the problems of local government have made it impossible for Turkey to carry out reforms to local or central government structures. Just as various fears and taboos have done throughout the history of the Republic, phantasms raised about our administrative system have served only to harm the quality of life of our people and economic growth.

Our Party has an absolute belief in fully democratic governance and decentralization for the sake of our democracy and economy. And only a mindset that truly believes in its citizens can implement local government reform. In this framework, we believe that the first condition of public administration is that it must place its trust in its citizens. Issues that can be handled locally must not be administered from the center. Unless on-the-ground, local government has enough space, there



is no way for it to develop, proliferate, institutionalize and achieve world class services for citizens.

Our Party believes that within the framework of a mature and rational democratic approach, there can be complementarity rather than conflict between local and central government in the provision of services, as well as administrative integrity. The shortest and most efficient way for our citizens to be able to control and supervise public services is by localizing those services as much as possible.

In determining central government strategies, our Party foresees coordinated action hand with local administrations. As the operational flexibility of local government grows, the efficiency and effectiveness of the relationship between center and local will also increase. Localism will ensure that our citizens receive higher quality on-the-ground services, and get brought into the system.

Our municipalities are described in legal texts as ‘public legal entities with administrative and financial autonomy.’ However, this is countered by the insertion of the term ‘power of administrative tutelage’ in the Constitution, which has led to central/local administration problems that have proved impossible to resolve for years and led to a considerable waste of public resources.

The hierarchical relationship of tutelage between local administrations and the Ministry of Internal Affairs should be brought to an end in order to buttress the efficient, functional and democratic foundations of elected mayors, who should act jointly with the local Governors and District Governors in a wide range of policy areas.

Our party believes that in order to democratize the administrative tutelage set out in the Constitution, the body with which local government should have a hierarchical relationship should be the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, or a new ministry responsible for local governments. While the ‘power of administrative tutelage’ set out in Article 127 of the



Constitution creates problems with respect to democratic standards, the new system of government has shared out this tutelage between the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and the Ministry of the Interior. In order to implement a functional and democratic system of local government, we shall instigate a review of all 'administrative tutelage' practices and the elimination of all anti-democratic elements, in particular Article 127 of the Constitution.

In this context, we believe that - apart from the technical capacity transfer that can be taken from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization - the local planning and zoning authority that has been one of the main topics in arguments about municipalities should be entirely left at the local level.

In addition, the dismissal of elected mayors by the Ministry of the Interior, which is responsible for public order, without any court decision, contradicts the national will and the practices of modern states of law. Thus the dismissal of elected mayors without any investigative or evidential basis shall be ended and the dismissal of mayors shall only be possible by means of a court decision.

Likewise, the appointment by the Minister of Internal Affairs of a trustee to replace the dismissed mayor also hinders the manifestation of the national will. In this framework, and based on the decision of the court, the elected mayor shall be replaced by the election of a municipal councilor, who will of course themselves have been elected.

We shall ensure that local administrations are sensitive, participatory and visionary in environmental issues. A genuine widespread level of participation shall be achieved on all matters pertaining to the environment and cities, especially zoning plans; capacity and resources from central government shall be activated in a coordinated manner.



IV. THE LEGAL ORDER: GUARANTEEING JUSTICE

Justice: Society's Inclusive and Protective Principle

Justice is all about delivering rights to everyone, distinguishing what is right from what is unjust, and putting everything in its proper place. Justice is about safeguarding human rights and human dignity.

There can be no room for injustice or oppression in societies where justice is manifested. Where there is no justice, innocent people left to the mercy of the strong and the bullies are condemned to live under oppression. In such a society, anxiety, fear, insecurity, unrest, turmoil and chaos prevail. The existence of laws has no significance or value. Because in a society where justice has no validity, laws become mere tools for the legitimization of oppression.

By furnishing political power with a moral and ethical essence, justice is the most potent value in promoting order. Its moral essence makes it the most fundamental value in societal and political existence. One of the principal reasons for the existence of the state is to establish formalized non-arbitrary justice for the wronged and the innocent against cruelty and oppression by applying criminal sanctions when necessary, and social justice that approaches all citizens equally, fairly and inclusively.



The survival of the state and the sustainability of governmental power depend on the establishment of justice. States where justice prevails in the life of society can survive. States that have established perfect justice and provided society with peace, harmony and prosperity have endured; nations and states that have abandoned justice have collapsed. “Justice is the foundation of the state” is a universally recognized principle.

Our Party is conscious of the fact that the erosion of rights and justice underlies the economic, political and social problems in our country, and that the justice deficit in our country and society’s need for justice has become a matter of urgency. We are witnessing the degradation of justice, and the fundamental shaking of the rule of law and social peace with great sadness.

The most fundamental basis of our understanding of law and political philosophy is our concept of justice. Our Party’s chief maxim will be just governance. We see our nation’s demand for rights and justice as the key principle in our understanding of politics.

Law and the Rule of Law: the Structure of a Justice-Based Public Order

The law is a set of rules filtered through universal values such as equality, freedom and justice. Laws that fail to deliver rights, indulge in favoritism, grant privileges, restrict freedoms and disrupt harmony in society violate the very essence of democracy and law. States in which these kinds of laws are in force are states with laws, not states of law.

The law is for people. The most basic duty of the law is to establish a just social order, ensure peace and harmony in society, and safeguard freedoms. The purpose of the legal system is to distribute justice, resolve problems and produce remedies.

The most critical foundation and insurance for the supremacy and rule of law is the principle of the separation of powers. In this context, the fundamental principle must be the rule of law rather than *raison d’état*; the making of laws on the hoof must be stopped.



A democratic state of law is a state that is committed to the universal principles of law, ensures equality before the law, guarantees individual rights and freedoms, keeps open all the ways to claiming rights, and subordinates all actions and procedures to judicial oversight and control.

Equality before the law means that the state, the governed and those who govern have an equal status before the law. No one is exempt from the obligation to comply with the law. Legal rules are equally binding on the governed and those who govern. The establishment and operation of a sound legal system is primarily a question of mentality. In this framework, a thoroughgoing revolution in mindset is required in our understanding of the law and its practice. Legal education and training shall be reviewed and restructured with a view to nurturing lawyers qualified to materialize a revolution of this kind.

Our understanding of law is one that treats everyone equally under the law without discrimination on grounds of language, race, color, gender, political ideas, religion or denomination, and fights against any kind of discrimination, marginalization and demonization.

A state of law is one in which what is right, not might, is supreme. A state based on the rule of law is one in which everyone is equal before the law, rights and freedoms are guaranteed, and the state and power holders are constrained by law.

A state of law means a state that adheres to the rule of law in its activities and provides its citizens with legal security. Modern states in which the legislature, executive and judiciary work according to legal provisions form the basis of a high quality of life for their citizens. In order for the rule of law to function properly, it is first and foremost the state that must comply with the rules it sets. In addition, the constitution, laws and regulations that constitute the rules must be in line with modern democratic standards.

Our Party's objective is for Turkey to attain the standards of the modern state of law that our people deserve, both with respect to the state's compliance with the rules and their democratic content. The sine qua non



for the establishment of peace, harmony, prosperity and full democracy in our country is that the rule of law operates in line with all contemporary rules, principles and practices.

From the founding of the Republic until today, the goal of becoming a true state of law has always been there, but it has not reached fruition to the extent that our people deserve as Turkey has consumed its energy over many years on practices quite disconnected from fully democratic and modern standards. Yet a true understanding and implementation of a state of law, which would put our citizens at ease and transform our state into a modern functional institution, has never been instigated.

The separation of powers without which no state of law can exist has been largely erased, first by tutelage measures and then by changes to the system of government.

We deeply regret the fact that our country is in a state of continuous decline in terms of the fundamental attributes of a state of law under the rule of law. The arbitrary attitudes of power holders that disregard the most fundamental requirements of the rule of law and instrumentalize the judiciary shake confidence in justice and the judiciary and open up intractable wounds in the conscience of society.

As we move further and further away from the principles of the rule of law, not only do our citizens lose their rights and freedoms but all our institutions suffer injuries from which it will be hard to recover.

Our Party has set the reestablishment of trust and confidence in the justice system and the law as one of its primary objectives. And within this field, chief among our goals is the creation of a legal order that posits justice as the prerequisite and guarantee of our pluralist and liberal approach, ensuring the rights of all our citizens for social peace, harmony and prosperity.

We believe that the rule of law can be established within a structure in which fundamental rights are guaranteed, state activities are opened up to



judicial supervision, the separation of powers is made operational, and in which there are ways for citizens to claim their rights. In order to safeguard human dignity, citizens must be able to live secure in the law.

Our main objective is to rescue the concept of the rule of law from its current status as a pointless non-functional cliché casually mentioned in laws and political party programs. The rule of law can only become meaningful when the separation of powers is ensured, public resources are used sensitively, flagrant or discreet privileges are eliminated, the rights and means to object are kept open, people's sense of belonging is not wounded and the consent of all our citizens is gained.

Terrorist organizations that harm the lives and property of our citizens, disrupt social peace and harmony and strike against the unity of the country must be fought against to the end. However, this struggle should be carried out within the framework of the law in adherence to the principles of the rule of law.

In the process of issuing decree laws, no decisions with extraordinary consequences on people's lives should be made; the basic principles of law, such as concrete evidence, objective criteria, the presumption of innocence, and the principle of individual criminal responsibility, should be respected; effective and efficient ways for counterparts to seek remedy should not be removed; the rights and reputations of all those who have fallen victim to decree-law, including those held without charge, those who have received a judgment of *nolle prosequi*, and those acquitted at the end of trial proceedings, must be restored as a matter of urgency. A wide range of grievances such as passport cancellations without any legal basis in violation of the Constitution and being unable to find a job due to difficulties in receiving health services and annotations in Social Security records, must not be allowed to occur.

In addition, and in accordance with Article 148/1 of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court should examine decree-laws with reference to their compliance with the Constitution. State of Emergency regimes are not illegal and arbitrary regimes. Work and procedures carried out during



the State of Emergency should not be excluded from judicial review. Our primary objective shall be to remove the exception contained in Article 141/1 of the Constitution to ensure that Decrees issued during the State of Emergency are made subject to judicial review. These matters, which have become gangrenous sources of social trauma, shall be urgently resolved within the framework of the fundamental principles of our Constitution and the rule of law.

Although the authority to issue laws belongs to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, in order to establish the principles of a state of law and the rule of law, the joint contributions and consensus agreement of individuals involved in building the law, members of the public, civil society, academicians, and interested parties, shall be considered. Within this framework, the “Omnibus Bill” law-making technique that damages the internal integrity of laws and disables institutional consultation mechanisms shall be abandoned.

An Independent and Impartial Judiciary: the Fundamental Guarantee for Safeguarding Justice

In line with the principle of the separation of powers, the responsibility for distributing justice in democratic states of law lies with judicial bodies independent of the legislative and executive. Judicial independence is also a guarantee for law and democracy. It is unacceptable to abandon it or let it be weakened by the other powers. The existence of balancing and supervisory mechanisms is a key characteristic of a democratic state of law. The independence and impartiality of the judiciary is a fundamental principle that must be uncompromisingly implemented in institutional practices.

The *raison d'être* for an independent and impartial judiciary is to protect the rights and freedoms of individuals against the illegal acts and actions of other individuals, or public bodies and government. In order for individuals to secure their rights and freedoms, to deliver their rights to everyone and to make decisions aligned to the principles of justice, the judiciary must be independent from political power. This privilege



granted to the judiciary is designed to protect the citizen, who is otherwise vulnerable and unprotected against the unlawful encroachments of the legislature and the executive. In order for the judiciary to make just decisions, the judges must be impartial, and in order to be impartial, they must be independent of any influence or pressure.

True judicial independence based on the separation of powers is our absolutely non-negotiable principle. It is extremely important for all our citizens to have legal protection against all kinds of injustice and abuses of governmental power. We shall not be able to achieve genuine human rights-based law and democracy unless the notion of judges being civil servants is abandoned. We need to develop the concept of public service rather than a kind of judge-centered service to the state in our judicial culture.

The problems experienced by the judiciary in Turkey are not problems arising from basic legislation. The transfer to the judiciary of issues that cannot be solved by political means and by the executive has led to the instrumentalization and politicization of the judiciary. Attempts to gather social, economic and political powers via the judiciary have greatly damaged its reputation. As a result, and to a greater extent than ever, the judiciary has been maltreated, damaged, lost its independence and impartiality, and suffered a loss of confidence.

No judiciary can be independent and impartial except within a pluralistic and libertarian democratic political system that has fully assimilated the separation of powers. The main reasons for problems arising in the judiciary are not only the requests and demands of the legislature, the executive body or political realm that remain incompatible with the principle of an independent and impartial judiciary, but also the habitual tendency of the judiciary to remain susceptible to intervention.

Substantial reforms need to be carried out in order for the judiciary to function quickly and effectively and for it to produce equitable decisions.

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n this framework, the judicial organization shall be restructured.

The Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK) shall be divided into two - the «Council of Judges» and “Council of Prosecutors». The provision preventing the judicial authorities from appealing against the disciplinary decisions of the HSK shall be amended.

The HSK, which lies at the center of the judiciary and shapes it to a great extent, shall be restructured. In this framework, the structure, functioning, duties and powers of the HSK shall be rearranged in such a way as to ensure democratic legitimacy and pluralism.

An institutional and functional transformation shall be carried out with respect to judicial processes in order to maximize the effectiveness and efficiency of the judiciary. Measures shall thus be taken to accelerate judicial processes, based on the fact that justice delayed is justice denied. People’s ability to claim and enforce their rights shall become inexpensive, effective and quick. Lawsuits shall be concluded as inexpensively and rapidly as possible.

Specialization and alternative dispute resolution methods shall be employed.

The legal guarantee of judges shall be implemented so that throughout their tenure they are able to make their decisions in compliance with objective criteria and the voice of their conscience, entirely free from internal or external influences. Geographic coverage shall be expanded at all levels of the judiciary in order to consolidate the secure tenure of judges.

Our citizens will be able effectively to exercise those rights that have become universal values such as the right to a fair trial, the right to legal defense, and the right to court access.

The principle of exemption from arrest shall be strictly implemented and made to adhere to objective criteria. The principles of individual criminal



responsibility, the presumption of innocence and the right against self-incrimination shall be strictly observed.

The right of individual application to the Constitutional Court, a gain for our legal system, shall be expanded and reformulated in favor of citizens.

In order to safeguard human rights and freedoms, Article 90 of the Constitution shall be strictly applied by the courts during trial procedures.

Judicial verdicts shall be implemented immediately in order to avoid their frustration.

The transparency and accountability of the judiciary shall be ensured. To this end, a performance monitoring system shall be developed on criteria such as timely access to judgments and judges' performance. Reports on matters such as "Situational Analysis in the Judiciary" shall be published.

The Justice Commission in the Turkish Grand National Assembly shall be activated and made effective, and provincial Justice Commissions shall be strengthened and made functional.

The profession of defense lawyer and attorney, a principal and indispensable element in the trial process, shall be strengthened. The laws governing lawyers, judges and prosecutors shall be reorganized in conformity with the needs of a modern society.

The penal and prison systems shall be rehabilitated in line with current conditions.



V: PUBLIC ETHICS

THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The Principles of Political Ethics: the Esthetic Essence of Politics

Honest, clean and transparent politics are indispensable components of a fully democratic system of government. One of the main indicators of a healthy functioning democracy is public trust in the individuals and state bodies they elect. The way to establish this trust is to set the principles, values, rules and supervision mechanisms to which elected and appointed persons must adhere on behalf of the nation as trustees of its security.

In this sense, it is essential clearly to define the principles of political ethics. Political ethical principles will strengthen the sense of trust and confidence between those who represent our nation and its people, provide more transparent and equitable delivery of public services, set an example to the private sector, and ensure comprehensive institutionalization.

We envision that existing studies in this field should be taken as a reference, especially political ethics-related work conducted in EU member countries based on the recommendations of the Council of Europe's Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO) member states.



This essentially involves the enactment of defined principles of political ethics relating to Members of Parliament, judges and prosecutors in line with GRECO's Recommendation 4.

We think that the fundamental principles of political ethics should be immediately determined and legally guaranteed. As part of the implementation of these principles, we need to regulate particular issues such as the declaration of property, the obligation to declare certain conflicts of interest, and prohibiting the receiving of gifts.

We believe that an institutional structure for the principles of political ethics should be rapidly established and a system of monitoring, control and enforcement should be set up to counter political ethical violations. Our priorities include defining the work that the president, vice-presidents, ministers, deputies and civil and military public administrators are forbidden from doing after their terms of office, and establishing a legal basis to regulate the public sector employment and beneficial use of public resources by their relatives, friends, associates from their hometowns, and any persons who might create conflicts of interest during their terms of office.

Within the framework of these principles, we envisage a comprehensive Law on Political Ethics.

Fighting Corruption: the Indispensable Condition for a Fair and Productive Social Order

Corruption is one of the principal moral and structural issues obstructing our country's sustainable economic development and equitable distribution of resources. Although there are a number of structural causes of corruption, we believe that the main factor is the influence of public sector power in the economy. Problems in terms of transparency, non-functioning supervisory mechanisms and the dysfunction of state norms facilitate the exploitation and abuse of public resources.

Our Party does not take the view that corruption is a matter of bribery alone. All kinds of actions and decisions leading to the inefficient, lawless



and abusive exploitation of public resources are indisputably among the causes of corruption. Therefore, we believe that a broader definition of the concept and act of corruption should be formulated in the field of public administration.

We envisage full accountability in the use of public resources. Every person and institution that uses power and resources on behalf of the public and the public sector should operate transparent processes not only before the law but also society.

We anticipate the removal of all obstacles to NGOs' and citizens' participation in public sector processes and the oversight / supervision of these processes. We aim to create a new infrastructure with advanced technologies so that our citizens can directly monitor the use of public resources.

We shall achieve accountability not only by means of criminal sanctions, but also through structural administrative measures to nurture an overall environment of ethical propriety.

Transparency: the Functional Principle of Public Ethics

We regard the accountability of governments and public administration not only as a legal obligation but a moral virtue. We believe that transparency is indispensable to full democracy.

A non-transparent administrative system inevitably gives rise to personal interests, inefficient and erroneous decisions, waste, the irresponsible use of public resources and unfair competition. Our view is that the natural opposite of transparency is work, decisions and steps taken in secret. Countries unable to forge a legal order and culture based on transparency will never be able to provide the prosperity to satisfy their citizens. The more accountable a modern state of law is the stronger its economy; the more transparent, the greater its social peace and harmony.

One of the primary and natural outcomes of a full democratic state of law should be the establishment of transparency. Our party does not accept



any excuse that serves to hinder this goal, and strongly believes that there can be no legitimate reason against accountability.

Our party shall do its utmost to ensure that all people and institutions, political parties, chambers, unions, press organizations and NGOs, especially the government, resolve to achieve a modern level of transparency at universal standards on behalf of the public sector. All organized structures, formal and informal, using public and voluntary resources can only be productive and democratic to the extent they achieve a contemporary and universal level of accountability.

Based on these tenets, we believe that as they gain in transparency, political parties, public institutions, unions, chambers, press organizations and NGOs can form solid traditions and become healthy structures. In this context, it shall be our top priority to enact a Transparency Law to ensure transparency and prevent corruption.

Ethics in Public Sector Employment: Competence, Merit and Trust

We envisage a system of public sector employment in which entrance and promotion in public service is open to all citizens and that adheres to equal rules on the basis of merit. We believe that a 'public sector employment ethics investigation system' should be established into the conduct of public sector services operated through robust principles and rules so as to avoid fresh grievances.

We shall not allow any erosion of qualified people's entry into public sector service, nor any situation in which people remain in employment or gain promotion due to favoritism, nepotism and various other interests. In addition, we shall ensure that membership of any political, religious, sectarian, cultural, regional, socio-economic group constitutes neither an advantage nor disadvantage in public sector employment. If attachments of this kind impact decision-making processes, we shall ensure that people have concrete ways to claim their rights and seek redress.

The existing interview system for the recruitment of public sector personnel, in-job promotion and the selection of high quality positions shall be abolished, to be replaced by exams based on objective criteria.



In particular, we shall end all kinds of visible or invisible discrimination in public sector employment. When necessary, we shall activate facilitation measures that will make a positive contribution until such time as the situation of those who have been wronged is corrected. Our ultimate goal is to ensure that public sector service is the entitlement of all qualified citizens.

Our Party sees our nation and its people as the owners of the state. Everyone in a position to use public power is a custodian. The establishment of sound political and social ethics for those entrusted with public power and property is one of our main goals.

Equality of opportunity shall be a key factor in the establishment of such a culture. It is our desire for an administrative, business and social life where nobody is excluded and all our people have equal rights as citizens.

Our Party is against inflating the number of public personnel through irrational decisions. We understand that any rationale that ensures people's perception of civil servants as a group with special privileges or rights only serves to damage public services as well as people's sense of fair play.

One of the chief reasons for problems in the execution of public sector work is the fact that public sector employment is regarded as a lifetime right regardless of performance, knowledge, merit and attitude to the citizen; this state of affairs is effectively guaranteed by the concerned legislation and judicial practices. An effective auditing and evaluation system based on objective and impartial criteria shall be introduced, and a transition to a merit-based performance system ensured in the carrying out of public sector services, with managers deemed jointly responsible.

Public sector job definitions shall be redefined. Disruptive practices that involve the repetition and duplication of work through the same or various state bodies by employees with different status, personal and retirement rights shall cease.



VI.: CIVIL SOCIETY: THE ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORDER

Political Parties and the Election System: Structuring Politics

Political parties are an essential part of any liberal, democratic state. Yet the constitution and legal regulations in Turkey contain extremely restrictive provisions. Articles 68 and 69 of the Constitution, regulating the principles political parties must follow and the sanctions for not doing so, and the Law on Political Parties No. 2820 that systematizes political parties as if they were public sector bodies, are replete with prohibitive rules and limitations on the right to political organizing.

Modern, universal legal notions agree on two fundamental principles relating to political parties. First, political parties must respect democracy, human rights and the tenets of the rule of law as they lay the ground for citizens' capacity to explain their political will within the party whenever they so wish. Secondly, political parties must not work against the democratic order by exploiting the privileges granted to them to.

In this context, the freedom of citizens to establish and join political parties must be guaranteed. This is a requirement of the right of citizens to access, learn about and publish political ideas, a right that can only be



restricted within the scope of the European Convention on Human Rights and other human rights treaties.

The legal framework for political parties in our country is highly problematic.

We should steer clear of a prohibitive approach that meticulously regulates every issue and ties the hands of the parties, whether it concerns the organization of parties or their propaganda, their management structure or the number of local organizations. Fundamental principles should be determined and political parties should be given the chance to act freely.

Turkey needs a new order for political parties that will expand the country's political space. To this end, a democratic Law on Political Parties shall be drawn up.

Prohibition and closure sanctions against political parties should only be applied in the event that they incite violence or break the constitutional order. Accordingly, only political parties that incite violence in their programs and regulations and direct citizens to armed conflict, terrorism, racism and xenophobia may face a ban or closure.

Political parties must be granted wide ranging freedom of expression. Closure should be considered only as a last-resort sanction against political parties. If there are breaches in a party's statutes or program, formal pre-closure warnings or demands for correction should be implemented. Political parties should not be held responsible for the individual behavior of their members, unless that behavior is instigated or supported by the party's decision-making bodies.

Decisions on party closures should not be left to the will of the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor. Closure cases are as much political as legal. Therefore the body politic should also be involved in the process.

A qualified majority vote of the Turkish Grand National Assembly should be required as prerequisite to the opening of any case by the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor to close any political party, and any such decision should be subject to ratification by a qualified majority decision of the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor.



Public financial aid to political parties should be revised. The financing of political parties should be made transparent and party revenues and expenditures should be open to detailed scrutiny not only by the judiciary but also the general public.

In order to improve the quality and autonomy of politicians and boost their influence within the political system, a new Law on Political Parties as well as a new Elections Law should be drawn up with a view to subjecting the election statutes to a comprehensive revision based on a democratic perspective.

Our political tradition is fraught with terrible examples of political parties or governments with a parliamentary majority changing the electoral system to their own advantage. Leaving the electoral system to the mercy of political parties with a parliamentary majority in the lead up to each election opens up the space for practices that harm the principle of fair representation. In this context, the fundamental principles and rules governing the electoral system should be constitutionally guaranteed.

In its current form, the election threshold (currently set at 10% of the nationwide vote) destroys the dynamism of politics by requiring pre-election party alliances. Election thresholds should be ended in favor of the principle of fair representation.

One of Turkey's priority needs is a political life that is democratic, transparent and accountable. We believe that the assets of political parties' provincial and district heads, especially elected officials, and all their first degree relatives, should be published for public scrutiny.

The formulation of political parties' and candidates' campaign budgets, income sources, in-kind and cash aid and expenses should be set out in a way that is easily accessible to the general public and expert auditors. It should be made legally obligatory for all parties to submit their preliminary reports to the public on the same day, one week before the election date, with their final account reports announced within one month following the elections.



We envisage that political parties entering elections should be subject to the auditing and control of their finances and expenses by means of the establishment of an auditing commission similar to election boards throughout the campaign period including representatives from civil society, academia and other concerned bodies.

Likewise, election violations specified in law 298 should be punished without fear or favor.

Civil Society: the Subject Matter of Participatory Democracy

Civil society is of primary importance in the resolution of all the problems facing Turkey's society – political, economic, cultural etc., as well as in safeguarding our country's values. Just as happens in other countries (especially those undergoing a process of democratization), every kind of support shall be given to civil society organizations in Turkey, be it in terms of supervising the political space where civil society organizations play such a significant role, or appointing them to play a role in guiding decision making individuals and bodies.

The subjects in which civil society feels the need especially for qualitative development shall be addressed. The legislation governing civil society shall be regulated in line with democratic values and universal judicial standards.

A state of affairs shall be ensured in which civil society maintains close and continuous collaboration with decision makers and public sector bodies. The security-oriented approach that hinders participation in civil society shall be brought to an end. The participation and contribution of civil society organizations in the work of public bodies at the national and local level shall be guaranteed within the context of the principle of transparency.

All kinds of incentives shall be given to facilitate the organization of civil society organizations, develop their capacities and work, and allow them to carry on in a more effective manner. The scope of civil society organizations able to benefit from 'public interest' status shall be expanded by means of reviewing that status with respect to Foundations and Associations.



A significant problem area related to civil society is the status of organizations with transactional relations with the public sector and the state. Trade unions, federations and similar organizations, especially chambers and professional associations, are important for the role they play in the functioning of our democracy and complementing our economic and social life.

These institutional structures, in which the spirit and practice of democracy should be most firmly established, have over the years become concentrations of power. Our view is that these organizations should first and foremost implement democratic participation within their own structures. We believe that election processes in these bodies, the great majority of which work directly with the public sector, should meet the most transparent democratic standards.

On the same grounds, we take the view that there should be a term limit for those elected to head these organizations, most of which after all acquire their resources by virtue of the legislative framework in which they operate - that is, from public sources. We also advocate a system in which the various lists that enter elections shall gain the right to representation in proportion to the votes they obtain.



VII. THE ECONOMY: INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE ORDER

Our Economic Vision and Philosophy

The purpose of political systems is to ensure the well-being, peace and happiness of individuals and society as a whole, to guarantee fundamental rights and freedoms for all, and to remove political, economic and social barriers that might limit individual development. Economic policies are key tools in achieving this purpose.

The principal objective of economic activity is to ensure the wellbeing of individuals and society and enable everyone to exercise their right to life, freedom and happiness. For our Party, the economy is an area of society that should deliver:

- Sustainable, inclusive and environmentally friendly growth for social welfare, prosperity and development,
- Full employment for people's self-esteem and self-fulfillment,
- The most appropriate, effective and efficient distribution of economic resources for the benefit of society as a whole,
- Equitable and balanced distribution of income.



The spirit of our age demands that we see democracy as more than just a political system. Democracy fulfils its true meaning only when it is defined to include a liberal, just and inclusive social order that ensures equal opportunities in economic and social fields.

Our Party argues that democracy and pluralist values are prerequisites for sustainable economic growth. Inclusive institutions can only be formed in democratic and pluralist political orders in which everybody enjoys fundamental rights and freedoms and the rule of law prevails. Efficient markets that facilitate the distribution of innovation and economic resources to the widest benefit of society as a whole, promote development, and raise the level of welfare and prosperity through increased productivity, depend on these inclusive institutions.

The undisputed delivery of the rule of law is a necessary condition for economic success. A competitive economy and an entrepreneur-friendly investment environment can only be established in a context where predictability is ensured, rules are applied equally to everyone and property and contract rights are guaranteed. This is possible only in a state of law where the judiciary operates impartially, independently, rapidly, effectively and above all in accordance with universal law.

Open societies need open markets. Political freedom and economic freedom develop hand in hand. In our conceptualization the free market economy represents an economic approach that:

- Guarantees the right to property, freedom of contract and freedom of enterprise,
- Prevents the development of monopolies and cartels,
- Abhors protectionism and excessive bureaucratic restrictions,
- Acts in line with the fundamental dynamics of the economy, the proven teachings and findings of economics,
- Follows economic policies compatible with markets' long-term balances,



- Ensures the operation of efficient price mechanisms by ensuring that externalities are reflected in prices through market-friendly regulations.

The economic policies we shall pursue in accordance with these principles are based on individual responsibility, and shall safeguard property and enterprise rights and the freedom of contract. Our Party advocates a rules-based free market economy. In this framework we do not believe that the state should intervene directly and arbitrarily in the economy. Our political ideology defines the state not as an imperious, sacred entity but a service-provision vehicle created for coexisting individuals to see their work as a joint effort. It envisages empowering the individual vis-à-vis the power of the state. All state decisions and actions must comply with the principle of democratic accountability.

The responsibility of the state is to ensure the sound, efficient and honest operation of the goods and services, money, credit and capital markets through regulation and supervision; to take measures to develop them; and to prevent the development in the markets of de facto or formal monopolies, cartels and market distortions. In a market economy the state directs the economy only to the extent that it sets and enforces objective and general rules. Enforcement and supervision should be independent, impartial and objective, and never used as an instrument of repression or intimidation.

Poverty, unemployment and social exclusion have devastating effects on individuals, especially those with disabilities, women, children and the elderly. This poses a significant threat to civil society. Poverty feeds hopelessness; hopelessness feeds racism, intolerance and aggression.

Our party believes that the main solution in terms of reducing poverty is to provide individuals with the opportunities and tools to avert or conquer poverty. We shall implement such policies by creating educational and employment opportunities for those who need support, by means of public-private sector cooperation. The supports and social benefits of public institutions shall be managed flexibly and locally by promoting individual responsibility, preventing abuse, and responding to individual circumstances.



We shall forbid the irregular generation of economic wealth and prosperity through the implementation of legal regulations and state intervention. Inflated, poorly targeted social security systems and public revenue redistribution models are unsustainable and harm the economy. State budgets shall be salvaged from financial black holes bringing ever increasing debt burdens to future generations. The fact that debt sustainability is a global economic threat renders financial discipline one of our fundamental principles.

Policies that almost entirely subjugate development to state incentives in the name of planning also create intractable burdens on the public sector. Even worse, they suffocate the private sector, which is the engine of truly sustainable growth, with exclusionary impacts. Fiscal discipline shall therefore be achieved through public expenditure savings. Wasteful and ostentatious state spending shall be outlawed.

In the economic philosophy of our party the role of the state is to balance the responsibilities and demands of society between short-term development and future generations. We shall implement policies to protect and renew our natural environment, historical and cultural values, public assets and social capital for future generations. We shall make these policies an intergenerational contract balancing the priorities and benefits of citizens living today with our responsibilities towards future generations. The state shall fulfill this responsibility within the operation of market mechanisms.

Prices shall reflect the real costs of environmental pollution and the exploitation of natural resources. Arrangements shall be made so that negative externalities resulting from the use of environmental resources are reflected on producer costs.

Corrupt and authoritarian governments' underdeveloped states and societies lacking institutional capacity, unemployment, impoverishment and ignorance lead to ever graver environmental problems that create influxes of migrants and refugees; this in turn provokes unrest and conflict in the political and social order. Collaboration between democratic societies through global and regional cooperative organizations acting in



line with the principles of respect for international law and human rights and a commitment to joint action worldwide will serve to guarantee world peace and consolidate environmentally sustainable global economic development.

In this framework, our absolute policy priorities shall be:

- Freedom of movement of goods, services and capital,
- Integrated financial markets under globally coordinated supervision,
- International economic cooperation.

We reject protectionist policies that impede free trade and capital movements; we regard this not only as a poor choice that serves only to harm the global economy, but also an economic crime against the entire human family, primarily poor and deprived countries. Consistent with this principle, we may act against protectionist measures targeting our country within the framework of the rights we are afforded under international law.

The savings gap has been Turkey's most fundamental economic problem for the best part of two centuries; it cannot be solved in the absence of price and financial stability. We shall strengthen the institutional capacities of the Central Bank and other independent public authorities and safeguard their independence from direct political or market interference. In addition, our primary goal is to increase domestic savings and expand the domestically established corporate investment base.

Measures to increase predictability and reduce risks in the economy will help solve the savings gap issue. A safe investment environment shall be fostered to encourage local and global capital to invest in Turkey. We shall put an end to the state of affairs in which domestic capital has to look for ways to move offshore.

In line with this economic philosophy we are committed to adhering to the principles best corporate governance practice in the implementation of policies. In this context, we shall legally mandate



- The fair treatment of all stakeholders with respect to individuals or bodies that use public sector power or resources or benefit from public sector privileges,
- Transparency in all actions and transactions,
- Accountability,
- Acting in full awareness of responsibilities towards the environment and society

in all political, bureaucratic, businesses and non-governmental organizations.

Again, within this framework, we shall establish an environment of governance in which traditional and ethical codes are as effective as written ones in order to ensure genuine and enduring institutionalization.

Rapid scientific and technological advances have had huge impacts on economies and countries. Traditional methods and models appear doomed. This necessitates countries' transformations into knowledge-based economies.

Our vision of the economy is to deliver Turkey's knowledge-based digital transformation and thereby overcome the middle income trap. Our primary goal is structural transformation to align the structure of our economy with quantum information technologies, artificial intelligence and the internet of things, and equip our young people with these skills.

Our promise to society is to implement this economic policy with the participation of all concerned stakeholders in a competitive and innovative entrepreneur-friendly business and investment environment where rules are applied equally across the board and everyone enjoys full security under the law.



Social Security: Safeguarding Tomorrow

As a critical tool in giving people a sense of security about their current situation and prospects social security is the key component of social welfare infrastructure. It is among the basic duties of the state to provide social and economic security when the need arises in people's lives, through both contributory and non-contributory systems.

Turkey's social security system used to be operated by three separate institutions. And although it has been merged under the umbrella of the Social Security Board, this physical merger has not achieved the full unification of norms and standards. In addition the financial sustainability of the social security system is under serious threat due to high unemployment rates, informal employment and difficulties in the collection of contributions. A significant transfer thus has to be made to the system to cover the financial gap.

The social security system with its extremely complex structure shall be simplified; a straightforward, equitable and efficient structure shall be built and institutionally integrated. The Turkish Social Security Board has one of the highest national coverage rates in the world. However, it cannot take proper advantage of its financial and nonfinancial assets and revenues from contributions. We shall ensure that the Social Security Board is provided with more dynamic fund management operability. A simple, straightforward production- and employment-friendly social security infrastructure shall be established that broadens the social insurance premium base and facilitates access to the system. Contribution levels shall be boosted by means of an unremitting battle against the informal economy.

On severance pay, steps shall be taken to safeguard employees' vested rights and make the system more functional. By easing the conditions for being able to benefit from the Unemployment Insurance Fund, its fundamental mission shall be to provide minimum financial guarantees for vulnerable groups during periods of unemployment.



Fighting Poverty: Securing the Minimum Conditions for Human Dignity

The ultimate objective of raising welfare levels is to achieve developmental standards in the fields of housing, nutrition, education and health, which are fundamental human rights. The state's contract with society makes it incumbent on the state to deliver these standards and create an environment that will prevent individuals from feeling left behind economically and socially. The principle of the social state requires that the public sector will deliver human development standards to all. The way to achieve this on an enduring basis within the market economy model is to build and maintain a social and economic environment that will nurture human dignity, decent livelihoods and enterprise opportunities.

One of the principal duties of the state is to muster its resources to deliver these fundamental rights to its citizens without waiting for them to demand them.

In this context, our Party will abandon problem-oriented social policy practices in favor of a return to a rights-based structure, which is a universal principle of social policy.

Fair Incomes: the Ethical Foundation of the Socioeconomic Order

Welfare shall be distributed equitably to all sections of society on the basis of universal principles and rights. The definition of poverty and need shall be clarified, criteria standardized, and a world-class Minimum Income Support system providing regular assistance and a secure standard of living to those in need introduced. Problems associated with the fact that the social assistance system changes with every change of government shall be eliminated by making the social assistance system rights-based and fully institutionalized.

Public confidence in policy steps and their benefits shall be raised by eradicating the perception of social assistance as a political tool; it will never be used as a form of political intimidation.



Thanks to Minimum Wage Support, the establishment of a unified social assistance system to replace thematic social supports will avoid duplication by simplifying the system and reducing red tape.

The Culture of Social Assistance: From the Dole to the Concept of Productive Contributions

One of the main problems in social assistance practices in our country has been the failure to link them strongly enough to the world of work. Another error has been to consider individuals such as young people, women and the elderly outside the context of the family and operate on the basis that each group is an independent entity without examining the overall socioeconomic situation and structure of the family.

Various state bodies are involved in an unproductive effort to deliver services without mapping the barriers to everyone's participation in economic and social life on the basis of the family. As a result, little progress can be made in eradicating poverty and deprivation through social assistance with the result that the integrity and harmony of the family suffers.

Problems in reaching target groups restrict the efficient delivery of assistance. The development of scientifically prepared projections that detach social policies from populist policies and that are based on clear, measurable objectives in line with universal principles and scientific data have become an absolute must for social harmony and for the restitution of our political ethics.

In the delivery of social policy to society a healthy balance will be maintained between the state, the family and employment markets. The link between social assistance and employment shall be reinforced in order to reduce dependency on social assistance and draw recipients into employment. The chief priority will be to ensure that recipients are rapidly brought into work that matches their education and qualifications, health and psychological status.



Working Life: Reviewing Labor Law and Welfare

A healthy working life depends on sustainable, private sector-led investment in the framework of inclusive growth policies. Inclusive growth is a virtuous circle that generates opportunity and wellbeing for almost all groups in the population.

Globalization and digitalization are piling competitive and destructive pressures on our lives. One can only accurately gauge and manage the impacts of these pressures on production processes, services and employment markets by developing the right policies. Countries that prove incapable of analyzing technological developments together with such issues as the impact of rapidly changing dynamics on the labor market, global migration waves, terror and security threats, and cannot develop the correct priorities and policies, will not be able to survive in this tough competitive race.

Employment markets reflect progress in an economy, development in social sectors, labor productivity, and the competitiveness of the economy. In other words, trends in workforce indicators simultaneously illustrate the macroeconomic situation and the outlook for social development.

Nearly one-third of employees in Turkey are employed in areas of low job security popularly known as the “gig economy”. Unregistered or informal employment is about one third of the total. Rapidly increasing unemployment especially youth unemployment herald future danger; such an economy cannot possibly generate prosperity and a sustainable momentum of social development.

In order to create new areas of employment, urgently improvements shall be made in the investment environment in order to boost domestic and foreign capital investments in every sector.

An infrastructure for working life, labor market and social security shall be established to protect the vested rights of employees in the labor market, provide flexible employment opportunities where individuals can



balance their private life and work life, and support employers who pay their premiums, rather than those who do not. In working life, labor market participation shall be expanded to encourage productivity growth, formal employment, the acquisition of qualifications and continuing education.

Working life will be based on human dignity, meaning that employees shall be provided with the qualifications and skills they need to meet today's requirements.

Public Finance: Citizens' Entrustment to the State

The principal objective of our public fiscal policies is to ensure that public revenues and expenditures, assets and liabilities are managed effectively, efficiently and rationally in line with our sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development goals and macroeconomic policies. Our Party shall ensure that economic resources are distributed effectively and efficiently for the benefit of society as a whole and that income is distributed in a balanced and equitable manner. Public finance policies will serve these purposes.

In a time of profound economic transformation, we have seen technological innovations change our living and working environment. There is insufficient focus on policies to address climate change and global warming, population growth and urbanization, an aging population, growing immigration, discrimination against various sections of society, enhancing the role of women in the economy, income distribution injustice, artificial intelligence, digital finance, and rising unemployment. We shall organize and implement our public finance policies taking these issues into account.

It is essential that public finance policies are compatible with all other macroeconomic policies, especially monetary policy. The budget deficit in Turkey, a country practicing inflation targeting with a structural savings gap, makes the economy vulnerable to exchange rate and interest rate shocks and geopolitical risks. Therefore, our fiscal policy will serve to consolidate and sustain macroeconomic stability.



We have an integrated approach to public sector fiscal policy. The revenues and expenses, assets and liabilities of all public administrations, including central government bodies, social security institutions, public enterprises and extra-budgetary funds, shall be taken as a whole. The cash, securities, receivables, fixed assets and subsidiaries, debt and contingent liabilities and budgets of these administrations, shall be addressed holistically.

Our Party is committed to boosting the role and influence of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in all public finance matters through the budget preparation, approval and implementation processes. We shall plan all government processes from procurement of revenues to allocation of expenditures in line with fiscal discipline targets. We shall act on a citizen-oriented perspective and implement a 'People's Budget'.

The questions of where and how to spend public resources collected from our producers, employees and citizens, is clearly a major responsibility. It is also inherently a moral and ethical process that requires transparency and accountability.

We shall ensure popular participation in budget preparation, approval and implementation. We shall restore the "Power of the Purse" that has been weakened in recent years and ensure the active participation of all relevant sections of society, especially civil society organizations, in the budget process. All concerned bodies shall establish infrastructures within the scope of this participatory approach. We shall set budget targets as medium-term plans and programs within the framework of macroeconomic forecasts to be determined in consultation with independent stakeholders.

We shall prepare public budgets in a trustworthy, competent and realistic manner and ensure that enactments are in line with approved budgets. Risk analyses shall be included in our budget proposals. We shall strengthen program- and performance-based budgeting systems, and stop the practice of budget spending and composition amendments except with Parliament's explicit knowledge and approval. We shall set public sector wages and staffing in a way that does not disrupt the labor market equilibrium or conflict with inflation targeting. We shall end extra-



budgetary practices and review existing extra-budgetary funds, accounts and revolving funds. We shall rationalize and prioritize capital investments and their financing conditions.

We do not believe that the size of the state in the economy should be increased but that the level and distribution of current spending should be reviewed, waste areas eliminated, and that our resources should be transferred to areas that increase production, productivity, and employment. We believe that the role of the state in the economy should essentially be limited to regulation and control functions.

We are absolutely committed to keeping public debt to a sustainable level and not increasing the current deficit through low savings levels in Turkey, which already suffers from a savings gap. We have a responsibility to improve employment opportunities for our young people. We believe that the public sector must set an example by promoting awareness of the importance of saving. Fiscal discipline improves the country's and the public sector's balance sheets and resilience to risk.

Our savings gap, as well as intergenerational fairness, requires us to balance the public sector budget. We shall ensure fiscal discipline without increasing the tax burden on large sections of society, producers and employees, by controlling spending and preventing the wastefulness that has become rampant in recent years. We shall deliver a financial framework that suits our country and incorporates the necessary institutions and rules, constitutional and legal guarantees.

Forging transparent and accountable structures and institutions enhances the quality of democracy. We consider transparency and public accountability as an integral part of our democratic consciousness, and believe that the state has a moral responsibility that transcends the bounds of political obligations. Only a state that complies with these principles has popular legitimacy. In addition, the transparent and accountable state that we create shall be subject to continuous public control as it becomes ever more effective and efficient.

In markets with transparent information flows, investors' trust and confidence increases, risk premiums decrease, public sector borrowing



interest rates decline and fewer resources come out of the pocket of the citizen. To enhance fiscal transparency we shall improve the quality of financial reporting, financial forecasting, budgeting processes, risk analysis and management. We shall take steps to strengthen the accounting, reporting, statistics and information systems infrastructure.

In this framework we shall:

- Expand the scope of financial reporting to cover all public enterprises,
- Show public land and underground natural resources with their full market value on the public balance sheet,
- Ensure the central monitoring, accounting and reporting of all contingent liabilities, including public pension commitments and public / private sector collaborations,
- Augment the inspection and surveillance powers of the Turkish Grand National Assembly,
- Draw up budget presentation formats so as to provide the general public with a better understanding of economic and financial performance,
- Forbid over-budget spending without additional budget legislation,
- Take into account domestic and foreign independent macroeconomic forecasts during the budget process,
- Publish detailed financial risk reports and share the financial statements of each municipality and public administration separately with the public,
- Revise exceptions and non-competitive practices through a review of public procurement legislation,
- Submit the audit reports of the Court of Accounts and the responses of the concerned public sector and governmental bodies to the Turkish Grand National Assembly in a timely and complete manner, and share them with the public.



Some states have set up sovereign funds to manage international reserves from natural resources or high savings surpluses more effectively. In some cases, such structures are designed to enhance the social security (retirement, unemployment, severance pay, etc.) funds managed by public institutions and provide higher returns to beneficiaries.

Unlike these structures, and together with the assets of certain companies whose capital and/or management is under state control, the Turkey Sovereign Wealth Fund established in 2016 is a non-transparent extra-budgetary fund whose revenues are not subject to scrutiny. In addition, the Fund sets out to act in defiance of its name in imposing burdens beyond treasury financing programs; it is even able to use public resources to resolve the financial problems of companies close to the government.

Such a non-transparent structure, which confuses the concepts of fund management, development banking and project finance within an unhealthy structure, makes politically-oriented decisions, and operates beyond the scope of control and auditing mechanisms, cannot possibly fall within our understanding of sound fiscal policy.

We shall transparently monitor public/private joint investments and other guarantees that form off-balance sheet conditional liabilities and report them to the public. Haphazard public/private cooperation legislation shall be remedied and modernized without delay. Public/private sector cooperation models based on fair risk sharing, transparency and “public value of investment” analysis are important in terms of improving the quality of public services.

Our Party shall implement balancing fiscal policies in times of strong economic activity and growth, and supportive fiscal policies during unfavorable periods. We shall thus support the economy and employment by reducing taxes and / or increasing spending in times of challenging global conditions or economic cycles.

In determining our fiscal policies we shall act with a mind to the fact that productivity is the driving force of economic growth. We shall immediately



put a stop to the wasteful and ostentatious spending that has damaged our society and attracted the justified reaction of all sections of society, and shall direct our resources to productive areas.

Capital investments, primarily infrastructure, shall be planned only on a public interest basis and in line with our efficiency principle. Our fiscal policy shall be based on the priorities of educational investments especially in vocational education, health expenditure especially in the areas of preventive health and public health, enhancing participation in the labor force, and increasing productivity.

Our fiscal policy shall focus equitably and inclusively on ameliorating income distribution. Poor or needy families and individuals shall be objectively identified and resources transferred through targeted social transfers and educational and health support. We shall ensure that social spending supports economic growth as well as improving income distribution. Our main principle is to ensure that all our citizens are equipped with the facilities they need to live a life of human dignity, thus making them self-sufficient without needing external help.

We shall ensure that the level and composition of the public sector stock of debt is sound and that a strong cash reserve is maintained. Ageing populations and the growth of dependent populations pose a challenge to social security systems throughout the world. We aim to rationalize our social security system and balance the books in social security while we still have time.

Our fiscal policy decisions shall be framed by sustainability analyses, and reinforce the resilience of public balance sheets to risks. Thus, we shall examine and review the financial situation of the public sector not only with an eye on today but also for future generations. It is our absolute priority that our public sector finances and our overall economy are sound and robust against possible risks and shocks. We shall take decisions on issues that impact future generations such as public debt stock, social security balances, health and pension commitments, state guarantees and commitments, within this context, and shall not bequeath unsustainable burdens on future generations.



We shall forge a simple, fair, neutral, transparent, accountable tax system to support economic growth and development. Thanks to more efficient administration of tax affairs, we shall gradually alleviate the tax burden on households and business, end legislative practices that misdirect individuals and institutions via various institutional practices, and follow an employment- and production-friendly tax policy. We shall ensure that the tax burden is kept to a level that does not hinder capital accumulation, international competition, economic growth and the productive capacity of the economy, and labor force participation rates.

Our tax system shall be arranged in such a way that:

- Every comparable individual and legal entity will be taxed in the same way,
- Tax legislation can be easily understood by our citizens and companies,
- Taxes shall not stop economic actors making sound decisions,
- Our taxpayers will be aware of what taxes are in force and how they are applied.

In order to minimize the cost of tax collection for both the public sector and the taxpayer, we shall make the tax administration more efficient and ensure that the tax burden is spread to the base of the social pyramid without increasing the overall burden. The haphazard and inefficient structure of administering taxes will be modernized and made to prioritize data security and taxpayer privacy. We shall tax each citizen according to their ability to pay, that is, their economic strength, and ensure that issues such as tax amounts, tax dates and how to pay are clear and well defined to our citizens and companies.

We shall augment the financial and administrative capacities of local government. We shall redefine the roles of administrations in line with local needs and the principles of public service quality and efficiency. We shall review the resources transferred from central government and



identify areas of financial localization. We shall also ensure that local government financial statements and performances are consolidated and shared with the general public.

The supervision of the administration of public sector finances is the most powerful factor in terms of guaranteeing transparency and accountability and preventing corruption, inefficiency and waste. Our fundamental approach is the strengthening of internal audit and control systems for the effective, efficient and transparent operation of public sector administration.

We shall strengthen the institutional capacity and supervisory function of the Court of Accounts as an external independent auditor and ensure that it conducts audits in accordance with contemporary external audit principles. External audits shall not be limited to the previous compliance audit, but focus on risks and respect the effective use of public resources in line with strategic plans. The principle shall be adopted that decisions on matters of propriety are for the executive and that one function of the audit is to provide guidance to the management of the audited entity.

We shall also separate the Court of Accounts' supervisory and accountability functions in order for it to function more effectively.

We shall raise the level of technical assistance and cooperation with counterpart or international organizations in order to enhance our knowledge and understanding of managing public sector finances as well as to transfer our knowhow to friendly countries. We shall establish a self-confident, technically proficient system of financial administration that is open to the world, efficient, plugged into international organizations and research, free of discrimination, and with qualifications- and merit-based recruitment practices.

Monetary Policy: the Keystone of Macroeconomic Stability

The main purpose of our monetary policy will be to achieve sustainable price stability and oversee financial stability. Achieving sustainable price stability is about finding and maintaining price levels that will not disrupt



the balances of the economy. This stability will be the most significant contribution our monetary policy makes to the main long-term objectives of our economic program, such as growth, employment, development, equitable income distribution and a healthy financial system. While our monetary policy ensures price stability, it considers financial sustainability as a secondary target.

Our monetary policy regime will be one of “Inflation Targeting”.

We consider the implementation of an inflation targeting regime not only necessary to ensure price stability, but also in terms of delivering confidence in the economy and improving Turkey’s risk premiums from a macroeconomic perspective. In line with the average of emerging market economies, consumer price inflation shall be targeted at 5 percent and below in the medium term. In order to strengthen perceptions of the country’s economy and regain the trust of all stakeholders, all necessary measures shall be taken to minimize not only the level, but the volatility, of inflation.

Central Bank independence is a requirement of the spirit of the Constitution as a natural consequence of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey’s exclusive budgetary and money-issuing authority.

The Central Bank of Turkey (CBRT) is the sole decision-maker in the implementation of monetary policy. For this reason, the CBRT’s instrumental and operational independence shall not be prone to political intervention under any circumstances or conditions. Central Bank independence also imposes an accountability obligation.

In this context, and as an indication of our commitment to price stability, we shall implement a measure to allow a qualified majority vote of the relevant parliamentary commission to remove the Governor of the CBRT, in the event that the Governor has had to write a letter to the government for two consecutive years due to a failure to meet the inflation target. The principles of transparency and accountability that underpin any inflation targeting regime shall thus be legally guaranteed.



The relationship between the CBRT, the real and financial sectors of the economy shall be strengthened. Recent developments in the global economy have once again demonstrated the importance of implementing proactive rather than reactive policies in central banking. In determining the CBRT's policies, future success requires an understanding of the needs and expectations of the real and financial sectors. In order to strengthen that coordination, two independent voting members representing both sectors shall be included in the CBRT Monetary Policy Committee. In this way, the internalization of monetary policy decisions by stakeholders in the sectors shall be ensured.

Regulatory and supervisory powers over the financial sector shall be integrated within the CBRT. The Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BRSA) and CBRT shall be amalgamated under the CBRT's institutional umbrella to ensure that macro-prudential policy instruments are effectively combined. In addition to the Monetary Policy Committee, a Financial Stability Board shall be established under the aegis of the CBRT. A policy of effective communications shall be pursued in order to raise awareness of price stability and financial stability issues.

The CBRT shall not pursue any policy that undermines transparency or confidence. Nonmarket policy measures that might undermine financial markets' confidence in economic policy, hamper the free operation of international capital flows, increase risk perception or limit long-term growth potential shall not be permitted. In accordance with the overall framework of our economic policy, binding rules will be introduced to ensure its predictability.

The floating exchange rate regime shall be maintained in such a way as to avoid ambivalence.

Financial Services: Predictable, Reliable and Productive Markets

Our overall approach for the financial services sector is based on our belief that the most effective incentives for the sector are:



- Sustainable price stability and the resulting low interest rates,
- Predictability and the associated long financing terms,
- Efficient markets and their associated low brokerage costs.

We shall add financial literacy to the compulsory education curriculum and support initiatives for the development of financial literacy.

The responsibility of the state in the financial services sector is to safeguard the sound functioning of markets and institutions, ensure compliance with internationally accepted rules, and protect the rights of owners, investors and consumers. To this end we shall depoliticize supervisory and regulatory institutions. Through effective auditing and supervision, we shall make sure that the industry works in the public interest. The banking supervisory and surveillance body shall be restructured by integrating it into the CBRT and given authority over the entire financial services sector except for capital markets.

The auditing and regulation of the financial services sector shall be autonomous and carried out in line with international best practices. Reputable managers shall be appointed in compliance with competence and merit principles. We shall strengthen audit and supervision mechanisms and make sector balance sheets completely transparent.

We shall end the distribution of loans by publicly owned financial institutions based on political preferences and self-interest. We shall ensure that these organizations allocate their resources to farmers, tradesmen, SMEs and investment projects in accordance with their *raison d'être*. Thus, with the prerequisite of providing added value, public resources will be encouraged to focus on small loans that serve to increase employment, reduce the current account deficit, improve food supply security and help the environment. To ensure transparency and accountability, resources to be transferred to banks shall be clearly stated in the central government budget. We shall expand Eximbank's capital and liquidity resources, enhance the competitiveness of our exporters and incentivize high value added exports.



We shall ensure that international financial institutions make long-term investments in our country on reasonable terms by deepening financial markets and stabilizing Turkey's assets.

We support foreign capital investments in the financial sector. However, we shall consider foreign ownership distribution within our systemic financial risk limitation approach. We shall diversify the distribution of foreign capital, preventing the sector from becoming vulnerable to threats posed by global and regional risks.

Technological developments in the financial services industry and the changing demands of society necessitate an increase in productivity, to which end we shall encourage R&D work through investments in acquisitions, mergers and productivity.

We shall restore confidence in the Turkish Lira through the adoption of realistic approaches together with transparent, principled, merit-based administration.

The fact that natural and legal entities without any foreign currency income take high-risk foreign currency-denominated loans increases systemic financial risks. Moreover, arbitrary interventions, complications and exceptions fail to bring solutions. In this regard, the Turkish Lira shall be supported through a medium term plan, and financial risks organically eliminated.

Bodies such as the Banks Association of Turkey (TBB), the Participation Banks Association of Turkey (TKBB), the Association of Financial Institutions (FKB) and the Turkey Capital Markets Association (TSPB) shall be freed from political direction; we shall ensure their freedom of choice and their capacity to express the demands of the sector in a democratic manner.

In conjunction with all stakeholders, we shall restructure the Credit Guarantee Fund (KGF) in order to transform it into a body that promotes sustainable growth, in particular the establishment and development of startup companies in the Digital Economy that is gaining such



global significance. KGF treasury resource support shall be given on a temporary basis in periods when the growth rate is far from its true potential, and the KGF's financial statements and commitments shall follow all relevant principles of transparency and good governance.

We shall continue to support the Private Pensions System by improving its operations, raising the savings rate and providing long-term resources to the financial sector.

We shall improve the functioning of the insurance sector by protecting and informing the investor about existing and potential risks.

We shall restructure the financial leasing sector to provide long-term financing to the industrial and services sectors. Factoring companies will not only provide real estate collateral loans, but encouraged to be active in financing invoices and foreign trade. We shall boost the role of asset management companies in overdue receivables and structuring, ensuring their positive contribution to the efficiency of the financial sector.

Professional associations and chambers shall be established in order to defend the rights and interests of financial sector employees. When necessary, these organizations may be involved in legal processes over professional issues, and business cases.

Foreign Trade and International Capital Investments: Integrating Effectively with the Global Economy

In an environment where protectionism has re-emerged as a threat to the global economy, removing barriers to foreign trade, maintaining the rule-based global economic order and expanding prosperity through foreign trade are among our Party's principal goals.

With its dynamic entrepreneurs and skilled workforce, Turkey is the largest production center for many competitive manufacturing sectors in the vast geographical area between Europe and China. The preservation and development of our capacity is possible only through foreign trade and market expansion.



Turkey's foreign trade in three major regions stands out: Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, and Asia. Our basic strategy for these regions, Turkey's traditional market, is to increase our market share and strengthen Turkey's logistics centers and distribution channels that underpin the country's key position in the value added chain in these regions. In order to implement this basic strategy, financing support shall be increased and new models to develop the sector's value added chain developed. Dedicated programs shall be implemented with a view to boosting Turkey's exports and ensuring the country's effective entry into the Asia-Pacific region, a part of the global market that has not been sufficiently exploited up until now.

Our party opposes protectionism in the international trade of goods and services. Turkey has gained competitive superiority in tourism and foreign contracting services. Turkey's prestige in these fields, where it has become a brand name, shall be raised; we shall implement policies designed to boost foreign currency inflows into the country.

As a major manufacturing center Turkey has reached the threshold of the B2B model in exports and has been unable to attain its growth targets. The B2C model will ensure the country's direct access to the consumer; value added production will generate higher investments in fields areas involving direct contact with the customer.

Turkey has a structure based largely on importing investment and intermediate goods and manufacturing consumer products. A foreign trade policy integrated with industrial policy shall be implemented for the domestic production of investment and intermediate goods.

The main objective is a stable foreign trade surplus in the total trade of goods and services in the medium and long term. In order to achieve this, support shall be given to programs focusing on sectors' added value. At the same time we shall establish consultation mechanisms with the private sector, NGOs and all concerned stakeholders, all of whom have emerged as essential elements in recent years, and ensure their effective participation.



We shall give priority to bilateral and multilateral trade agreements to empower our country in global trade affairs. In this framework, updating our Customs Union with the EU shall be prioritized without diverging from the perspective of full EU membership, and free trade agreements will continue to be expanded.

- We regard investments in Turkey as investments based on confidence in the country and its future. We shall ensure that all investments that bring technology into the country create employment and make a positive contribution to foreign trade targets are realized as rapidly as possible without discriminating between domestic and global investors and with a minimum of red tape. We shall improve the nationwide investment environment and create a one-stop-shop to provide all the permits and support that global investors feel they need.
- Discriminatory approaches in the business and investment environment shall be ended and basic concepts such as transparency, predictability and impartiality shall no longer be problem areas for global investors in Turkey.
- Predictability and continuity will be the basis of the drafting and implementation of legislation. A regular and continuous consultation mechanism will be established with foreign investors' representative bodies, and rapid resolution of problems ensured.
- Turkey shall enter the ranks of the top 25 countries in the global competitiveness index.

Science, Technology and R&D: Essential Components of Production

Lounging in the middle rankings in the Global Innovation Index, a key indicator of countries' competitiveness levels, Turkey has slipped back in recent years. The main reason for this poor performance has been the failure to define the role, responsibilities and cooperation mechanisms of stakeholders in Turkey, or to create an ecosystem relating to technological transformation-oriented targets.



The level of basic sciences is far from that required to provide the infrastructure for technological breakthroughs, and R&D activities' patent, utility model and design-relationships are weak. The relevance and relationship between these processes and the economy, industry, SMEs and the business world is often neglected.

The predominantly project/program-based nature of the support given to industry, especially from the Small and Medium Industry Development Organization (KOSGEB), the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) and the Ministry of Industry and Technology, leads to the inefficient use of resources. Industrial competitiveness cannot be enhanced by allocating resources through project/program appeals that pay no heed to SME's actual, current and quickly resolvable needs without resource impact assessments or research into the relationship between production and employment.

Priority shall be given to R&D and Production Development activities where basic research has established a relationship between production and domestic/international markets oriented to patents and utility models.

An impact assessment shall be conducted into the assistance provided up to now by all institutions providing R&D support, especially TÜBİTAK.

The relationships between SMEs and industrialists and universities, researchers and research infrastructures shall be enhanced; R&D work shall be encouraged to focus at least partly on producers in the concerned sector.

Mechanisms focused on systematic cooperation between universities, provincial Chambers of Commerce / Industry and other related institutions shall be developed.

Concrete sector-based incentive mechanisms including close guidance and counseling to open up overseas markets shall be developed by scaling up firms in strategic sectors, IT, artificial intelligence, big data and the internet of things.



Our party believes that digital access is a fundamental human right. Information and communication technologies, so prevalent at the global level, are key to almost all sectors; their role in boosting international competitiveness, development, and the quality of human resources is growing every day.

In order for our country to achieve a knowledge-based economic transformation, we aim to forge a structural transformation that facilitates the efficient, productive and widespread exploitation of information and communications technologies in all areas of our economy, from industry to tourism, education to agriculture.

We believe that our country can get out of the middle income trap in which it has been stuck in recent years only by realizing such a structural transformation such, based on information and communication technologies. At this point we see this as a necessity not a choice for our country and we are determined to do whatever is necessary in this regard.

Unfortunately, our country is now a mere consumer of information and communication technologies. Measures to develop information and communication technologies through local and national facilities shall be a priority target. Instead of short-term daily solutions, the focus will be on making our country one that develops, produces and uses information and communication technologies with a medium and long-term perspective. By reducing our country's dependence on foreign technology, resource transfers abroad shall be limited and the current deficit reduced; this will also be achieved by removing Turkey from the ranks of those countries that only use the technologies of other countries.

Industrial Policies: the Engine of Production and Prosperity

Since the beginning of the 1980's Turkey has progressively integrated into international markets by abandoning import substitution policies and liberalizing foreign trade. The country turned not just to the domestic market but export-oriented production and took a significant step in production and foreign trade with the Customs Union Agreement that came into force in 1996.



This has led to a significant increase in manufacturing and foreign trade. However, our industry has reached a point where it is generally only able to produce and sell low and medium value added products. Our country has to import the high-tech products, investment goods and some of the intermediate goods that it needs.

Analysis of the sectoral distribution of our exports shows that at 93.1%, industrial production holds a very large proportion of our total exports while our imports in this area also remain at very high levels. While the share of high and medium-high technology products in world trade is currently 60%, the share of medium-high technology products in Turkey's manufacturing industry products exports is 36.4%, medium-low technology products 27.6%, low technology products 32.6%, and high technology just 3.5%.

In addition, intermediate goods and raw materials from industrial production form a large part of our imports; this not only makes industrial production dependent on imports but also exerts a significant negative pressure on the current account deficit.

The development of R&D, innovation and technological skills are essential in enhancing production, investment and export processes. As a result of the failure to achieve any significant improvement in the investment environment, our country has been unable to free itself from a raw material-weighted low-technology manufacturing-dependent structure and has fallen way behind in transiting to the information economy towards which the developed countries have taken such great strides. This state of affairs seriously restricts Turkey's capacity to raise its growth rate and competitiveness by freeing itself from the middle income trap.

In order to have a decent position in the world of the future, our country must transform the structure of its manufacturing industry by taking full account of the impacts of the information society and the digital technology-related transfer and supply networks we now see in production processes. We must also direct investment in line with this trend.



Our Party's industrial policy is designed to increase production and employment, and to minimize development disparities between different regions of the country. To this end, our priorities shall be:

- To invest in the products of the future and the intermediate goods and raw materials that will go into them,
- To ensure R&D activities and technological transformations in line with these investments,
- To create the investment environment that will pave the way for this transformation.

In order to improve the investment environment, we shall identify industrialists, exporters, private sector representative organizations and other relevant non-governmental organizations in areas such as law, industrial property rights, licenses and permits, incentives, investment field allocation, logistics, payment systems, customs practices, and tax legislation, with a view to making all necessary arrangements and structural reforms in these areas.

Public Sector Management and Privatization: For the Many, Not the Connected

Our fundamental principle in this field will be for the public sector to perform regulatory, supervisory and, where necessary, enforcement duties in economic sectors. Where competition can be established in the market, the basic rules of the free market economy will prevail; where markets fail and competition cannot be automatically established, establishing competition will require state intervention in fulfillment of its regulatory and consumer protection roles. In addition, public sector enterprises will not be allowed to operate in a way that excludes competitors and disrupts market mechanisms.

Public sector businesses committed to social objectives in the public interest shall be operated so as not to disturb market mechanisms and in a manner that focuses on their regulatory functions. These organizations



shall be restructured to ensure that they operate to effectuate competition, or else as if there were competition. The management and operation of these bodies shall be based on the principles of profitability and efficiency. They will implement a balancing policy to protect producer supplies in a manner that will not compete and will prevent speculative consumer losses.

In this respect, an inventory and feasibility study shall be carried out in the first six months to determine what services are to be offered through public sector enterprises based on criteria such as the needs of the economy, inability to provide goods or services from other sources, foreign dependency and strategic priorities.

Undertakings that these studies indicate should remain in the public sector will be restructured to ensure that they operate in line with commercial principles to minimize the burden on the public finances. With this restructuring, the management of these enterprises shall be made autonomous and a legal infrastructure created to enable them to intervene on issues such as technological renewal, investment decisions, product development, market research, and price determination.

Medium-term performance-based targets shall be set for these enterprises and monitored in short-term periods. Possible divergences shall be analyzed and timely measures taken to avoid them; these enterprises will be detached from the public sector. At the end of the medium term, they will be made available to the public in the capital markets, with due consideration paid to their strategic status. In this way enterprises will be disciplined by subjecting them to the dynamism and rules of the capital markets, and made sustainable through the provision of alternative sources of finance.

Depending on their status, SOEs within the scope of Turkey's Sovereign Wealth Fund shall be transferred to the Treasury or to the Privatization Administration immediately, without waiting for the dissolution of the Fund.



We shall strengthen transparency and accountability in public sector enterprises. In this context, independent audit reports will be shared with the public and corporate governance principles implemented in all public enterprises.

Feasibility studies may indicate that certain enterprises should not remain in the public sector. These shall be transferred to the private sector without disrupting competition in their sectors. The main principle in privatization will be that enterprises keep up their activities through the private sector; there will be no single objective such as making money for the public sector.

During privatization, factors such as whether the product is strategic for the country and economy shall be considered. Methods such as public offerings, direct sale and transfer of operating rights shall be used. In addition, privatized companies will be asked to continue their operations for a certain period of time. This will serve to eradicate bad examples from the past such as land speculation that ended up with production activities.

Enterprises in the privatization portfolio shall be reassessed; either they will be privatized or their relationship with the Treasury and relevant ministries will be re-established. The Privatization Administration will be wound up at the end of this period.

Agriculture, Food and Livestock: the Keystone of a Sustainable Economic Order

The development of effective agricultural and food policies will be one of our indispensable strategic priorities. Insensitive agriculture and wrongheaded urbanization policies have negative consequences on agricultural areas and the ecological balance. Environmental problems such as pollution, climate change, desertification, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, drought, and increases in salinity increasingly affect people's lives and development processes. The agricultural sector is adversely affected by climate change, and remains at the forefront of the greenhouse gas emissions that cause climate change.



Although hunger is one of the biggest problems in the world at the moment, issues arising from overeating have begun to eclipse it. According to reports issued by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization in 2019, while there are 821 million hungry people in the world, more than 2 billion people are eating unhealthily or excessively. Obesity rates have risen rapidly in children and adults, affecting all countries. This causes enormous damage in the public health field, seriously straining healthcare and social security budgets due to the rapid increase of diseases such as cardiac disease, diabetes, high blood pressure and cancer, as well as harming human resources. Turkey is one of the countries severely impacted by this problem.

With its production and turnover value, share in GDP, added value created, employment provision, number of enterprises and investment values, the food supply chain is a critical economic and social field of activity. In addition, the functioning of the supply chain and the way it is handled by public authorities are instrumental to the length of the chain, the relationships between actors and their reflection on producers and consumers. No public authority in our country is responsible for the entire food supply chain. Proclaiming "We shall open up imports" every time prices go up has become an indicator of over-complicated administrative structures and policy deficiencies.

Agricultural raw material production was an important source of capital and transition during the industrial revolution in countries around the world. Turkey is a country with very significant agricultural potential. It has 75% of the world's vegetable diversity and ranks 10th in the world and 1st in Europe in terms of fauna. Despite all this, Turkey has failed to grasp its agricultural production potential, and has failed to achieve self-sufficiency in agriculture, instead becoming entirely reliant on external sources.

The fundamental reasons for coming to this point include mistaken agricultural policies, opening agricultural areas to construction; climate change; an inability to keep pace with agricultural biotechnology and the resulting increases in agricultural input prices; an inability to establish a healthy production to market chain; smallness of scale; the length of the chain between the producer and the consumer; and the resulting high costs that reflect on consumer prices and make the sector uncompetitive with the world.



As a party we shall pursue balanced and realistic policies that take into account the realities of the country and the world, and shall always consider agricultural production, industry and marketing holistically. In order to establish a sound agricultural policy we shall ensure that the cumbersome, high-cost structure of the concerned ministry is brought up to date and transformed into a technology-backed source of direction, planning and coordination. We shall bring together the sector's stakeholders with a solution-oriented and open-minded approach.

Product- and production-based incentive and support programs shall replace direct supports. Direct participation in production shall be encouraged rather than leasing out to business owners. With modern payment practices, producers shall be diverted away from the production of goods that are already in excess supply and steered to alternative products. Compensatory payment measures shall be substituted in order to ensure that producers achieve a regular, reasonable income through sustainable production.

The chain between producer and consumer shall be shortened and the supply chain from farm to fork restructured; powers and responsibilities will be combined under one roof through a Price Monitoring, Analysis and Response System.

There will be coordination between market instruments such as existing product specialized exchanges, futures and option exchanges and licensed warehousing. In this way, a modern market mechanism will be created for producers, traders, investors and industrialists by incorporating the sector's products in investment instruments.

The sector will be integrated with the industrial sector. In addition, agricultural products or their processed forms will be transformed into value added products aimed at the food and feed industry.

Energy Policies: the Main Input of Production

Increasing digitalization on a global scale, rapidly developing technologies, the threat of global warming and climate change, new



business and working models, expectations of working with high performance and the quest for lower cost production have been accompanied by the search for models of sustainable development and living. A rapidly growing population coupled with people's expectations and efforts to attain higher levels of prosperity have forced change on long-established policies, perspectives and habits.

When it comes to these developments, the energy sector is the most impactful and the most impacted. The threat of climate change, the geopolitical conditions in the regions where hydrocarbon energy sources are located, and the damage caused by existing energy production models and technologies have prioritized the quest for sustainable human, national and sectoral development. The demand for energy is increasing on a daily basis. In this context, green and renewable energy have become powerful game changers that will affect energy rules.

It is difficult and costly especially for developing countries to replace and develop existing traditional energy systems, strengthen their energy supply security, become more flexible, durable and sustainable, and switch to a low carbon economy. Yet scientific research indicates that if these costs are not shouldered, it will be even more costly to preserve the natural ecosystem balance in the future. In addition, rapidly developing new technologies are expanding electricity production from renewable sources, a transformation that fosters fresh opportunities.

Rapid developments in the field of renewable sources of energy strengthen our hope to move from energy shortage to energy abundance. This process also obliges us to take urgent measures to avoid new dependencies in the future by addressing strategies for mining the rare minerals and raw materials used in the production of renewable technologies.

On the other hand, it is just as important to ensure maximum energy resource and supply security within the framework of sensitive supply-demand projections via local, predictable, accurate and rapid decision mechanisms.



In light of these developments and the dynamics of the energy sector, one of the main goals of our Party is to ensure energy supply security to support high quality, uninterrupted, environmentally sensitive, sustainable development based on our judgment that the fight against climate change can be won through global solidarity and differentiated responsibilities.

Short, medium and long term plans will encourage technical and technological improvements to generate savings in all energy-consuming sectors and boost manufacturing efficiency; priority shall be given to energy production from local sources and production at the point where energy is consumed, low carbon growth strategies and sustainable development. We shall ensure the efficient use and dissemination of energy resources such as geothermal, biomass, and especially solar and wind energy, aimed at reducing carbon emissions. An active role shall be taken in the development and implementation of energy, oil, natural gas and electricity interconnection projects between the Asian, European and African continents and globally.

Mining: Efficient Use of Natural Resources

In order to achieve a sustainable development cycle, we shall implement mining policies covering the inputs of all sectors, especially industry, energy, agriculture and construction, in an environmentally friendly manner, prioritizing occupational health and safety and maintaining a proper balance between technology and employment.

Our main principles will be to gain benefits from our mines not only in the form of raw materials but enriched and / or semi-finished products with high added value. A Raw Material Supply Strategy shall be determined, according to which prospecting, production, import and export policies shall be formed. An action plan shall be drawn up for each critical or strategic mine yielding industrial raw materials; these mines shall be opened up to prospecting, extraction and processing and brought into the economy. Assistance shall be provided to enable domestic mining companies to compete globally, produce high value-added products domestically, and conduct mining activities overseas.



We shall reconsider the mining/forest, mining/environment relationship in a way that respects public interest and sensitivities. Arrangements shall be made to ensure that mining activities are carried out in line with environmentally friendly international standards. A Roadmap for Safe Mining shall be created over fields such as occupational health, occupational safety, environmental security, investment and capital security, reserve security and information security, while risk analysis and management shall be implemented in all mines.

Transport: Production's Geographical Fluidity

Transport infrastructure is a leading determinant of a country's level of development and competitiveness, especially in the delivery of production and services.

Our principal goal is to support Turkey's strategic position as a cross-continental transition point with its highways, airlines, seaways and railways making it a key transit route of world trade. Different passenger and freight transport modes shall be integrated into the sector while new investments and projects are determined on objective criteria. Great attention shall be paid to social, environmental and cultural factors in new projects.

The share of railways in freight and passenger transportation will be increased by delivering reliable, world-class, fast and accessible rail services. By completing the international integration of our railway network, a rapid freight and passenger transport route between Asia and Europe shall be created. Deficiencies in railway electrification and signalization systems will be addressed.

The necessary assistance shall be given for the domestic construction and international marketing of all machinery and equipment in the sector, including high speed multiple units, locomotives, wagons, subways and light rail systems.



There will be a focus on the expansion of subway and light rail systems in urban transportation. Culture, art, the environment and transportation will be assessed holistically in considering the city's overall texture when designing and improving urban transportation.

Traffic counts and feasibility studies will be used in determining the need to construct highways and dual carriageways on all routes.

A holistic, smart, sustainable integrated Maritime Policy and Competitive Maritime Investment Strategy shall be announced and meticulously pursued in conjunction with the sector's stakeholders. This will regulate the fields of maritime sovereignty / jurisdiction. The interconnected fields of marine safety, maritime trade, protection of the marine environment, maritime tourism, submarine mining, fishing, etc. shall be unified by identifying the fundamental principles for all sub-sectors.

A Port Authority shall be established as a single authority operating the customs, police, tourism, pilotage and tugboat, ship traffic, health and other services provided by various institutions in a competitive, efficient, sustainable, safe, secure and environmentally friendly manner.

A Coastal Policy Statement covering the basic approach and principles guiding the establishment, operation and maintenance of all port and coastal facilities shall be issued, and a Coastal Master Plan drawn up in line with the specified criteria.

Due to the fact that our country is located on a number of maritime trade routes, we shall aim to make certain harbors on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea distribution hubs, thus gaining the capacity to ship goods to other countries in the region using short distance transportation methods. In order to close our large freight deficit we shall adopt a policy of shipping our own freight by increasing the competitiveness of the Turkish owned fleet. In addition, we shall rejuvenate the fleet by incentivizing the construction of fuel-efficient, environmentally friendly ships.

The marine environment and ecosystem will be protected and municipalities and large scale operations provided with treatment facilities



while the efficient use of existing ones shall be monitored. Sensitivity and risk analyzes will be carried out along our coasts and seas, and a continuous measurement and monitoring system established to prevent pollution.

Depending on load and passenger capacity, new airports shall be built in provinces where there is a clear need and existing airports shall be expanded and modernized where required. The Directorate General of Civil Aviation will be restructured and more dynamic collaborative ventures forged within the sector. Legislative and inter-institutional compliance issues will be resolved, arrangements made for the development of the overall and private aviation sector, and assistance given to general, amateur and sporting aviation activities.

Tourism: Natural Beauty Manifests Production and Prosperity

The international tourism industry is one of the most dynamic and competitive service sectors. 16% of the world's population, about one in six people, makes an annual touristic trip and it is the third largest item of export revenues in the world. 10% of world GNP stems from tourism. Tourism contributes an average of 4.2% directly to the GDP of OECD countries and 6.9% of employment.

The scale of the number of tourists who come to Turkey every year has made it one of the fastest growing emerging market tourist destinations, yet tourism has not yet shown a similarly bright performance in terms of developing value added. Although we have much newer infrastructure than other comparable Mediterranean countries our tourism revenue per head is 50% less than theirs. Turkey is progressively being drawn to a low value added tourism policy focused on lower-end sun, sea and sand holidays centered in rapidly constructed resorts. Other reasons for low revenues include incomplete and misguided marketing policies. Our places of great natural beauty are being destroyed by bad policies and very low value added is gained from the services provided.

The focus of global tourism policies is the development and implementation of tourism investments and policies in an environmentally friendly, environmentally sensitive and diversified manner.



In this framework, Tourism Strategy and Action Plans shall be drawn up. Turkey's potential and comparative competitive advantages shall be determined, weight shall be given to culture / faith, health, culture / congress tourism types, and effective promotion and marketing will turn our country into a center of attraction by ensuring it is one of the main destinations offered by tour operators. Cruise ports shall be constructed on the Aegean and the Mediterranean, and our share in the large and rapidly growing cruise market increased. In addition, improvements shall be made to the technology infrastructure of domestic tour operators and travel agencies and access to high quality markets expanded.

Infrastructural deficiencies in accommodation, transportation and manpower shall be eliminated in a collaborative effort involving the public sector, universities and the tourism sector itself.



VIII. FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE: A SUBJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Many important and contradictory factors have come into play in the thirty years that have passed since the end of the Cold War symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall, an event that generated such enormous hopes and expectations for peace and the international order. On one hand the technological communications revolution is increasing the level of global scale interaction to an extent that transcends borders in international relations. On the other, structural disintegration is forcing multitudes of people to take refuge in small scale ethnic / sectarian identities or else flee their ancestral lands in mass migration movements.

Four major earthquakes have struck during the course of these thirty years have served to destroy the utopian optimism on which the 'End of History' hypothesis that emerged in the immediate wake of the Cold War was based, leading to a nihilist pessimism that has shaken the idea of order to its core.

- The geopolitical earthquake that occurred with the disintegration of the USSR in 1990-1991 shook the static geopolitical line of the Cold War from Central Europe to East Asia. This led to the birth of new states as well as ongoing fragile ceasefires in regions such as Abkhazia, Ossetia, Karabakh and Transnistria.



- The security earthquake that took place with the September 11th attacks in 2001 wrought the security trauma that spread from the United States to the rest of the world and changed the psychology of the international environment to the detriment of international law and freedoms.
- The 2008 global economic earthquake impacted the developed economies (influencing among other things Brexit / Euroscepticism in the EU) and was accompanied by reactionary responses extending to the growth of protectionism in the global system.
- The structural earthquake that began with the justified demands of the Arab Spring in 2011 shook national orders, causing regional crises and mass migrations.

The accumulated aftershocks from these earthquakes have led to a comprehensive systemic earthquake that has profoundly impacted all elements of the international order. This systemic earthquake has shaken the cultural, economic and political infrastructures of all elements of national, regional and global order.

In the international political order,

- The static bipolar structure has been replaced by a balance of multiple powers structure that changes according to the issue's region and subject matter,
- The UN, the reference point for resolving international problems, has lost influence and importance,
- The effectiveness and functionality of regional cooperation organizations such as the EU, NATO, OIC, GCC and Arab League have declined,
- Some of the nation states that emerged in the wake of the Second World War and the Cold War have entered a process of dissolution while internal tensions have grown in the functioning of even deep rooted state traditions,



- Populist and authoritarian tendencies have proliferated, rendering all kinds of efforts to forge political order futile.
In the international economic order,
- Technological change has altered the nature of the international flow of products and money,
- Countries that regard this as harmful have turned to protectionism, the cost of which is shrinking world trade,
- The influence of international organizations and conventions, especially the WTO, has declined,
- Rivalry along international trade and energy lines has intensified,
- Efforts to forge regional economic integration have narrowed,
- Fragilities in the international financial order have grown,
In the international cultural order,
- Growing cultural interaction at the global level has coincided with a significant revival in local cultural elements,
- Eurocentric cultural fluidity has diversified in such a way as to spread to other civilizational basins,
- The one-way historical flow assumption envisaged by Enlightenment philosophy's End of History hypothesis has been severely shaken,
- Tendencies such as racism, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism have grown in line with waves of immigration and migration caused by economic-political crises.

Together with these developments, there is a need to revisit Turkey's early 2000's foreign policy approach that was based on the principles of (i) integration with neighbors, (ii) regional pro-action, (iii) the balance of global powers, (iv) active participation in international organizations, (v) new foreign policy area initiatives, and (vi) comprehensive foreign policy



institutionalization, and a foreign policy renewal that will address the dynamic international state of affairs.

Comprehensive Strategic Renewal: Rational Diplomacy, Consistent Rhetoric and Effective Institutionalization

The current international state of affairs, with its highly dynamic course and nature, is testing all countries. Three foreign policy stances emerge in terms of responses to these tests: (i) Reacting to events and situations without any internal strategic integrity, (ii) taking a static stance to avoid the risks posed by this dynamic state of affairs, and (iii) adopting a rational diplomatic rhetoric and attitude through a holistic and comprehensive strategic perspective.

In the context of this dynamic state of affairs, countries that have correctly determined their strategic priorities, contextualized them within a rational diplomatic discourse, and demonstrated a capacity for effective institutionalization, have made significant gains whereas those that act on the basis of day to day reflexes or adopt a static stance without internal strategic integrity have lost ground.

In recent years our country has lost strategic integrity in its relations with global actors and the resolution of regional issues. Turkey's haphazard diplomacy, which hinges on the state of personal relationships and displays a highly contradictory rhetoric, confronts the country with a severe contraction of its field of influence. This narrows our room for strategic maneuver in a dynamic international conjuncture and reduces our international prestige to sporadic reactions.

A comprehensive strategic renewal is now required at every level. To this end, we shall adopt a multidimensional, rational, flexible diplomatic strategy first and foremost by accurately defining the requirements of the dynamic international state of affairs and grasping the dynamics of the balance of multiple powers.

We shall adopt an approach that helps to build up the shaken elements of regional order in our immediate environment and minimizes risk factors



by properly assessing the interaction between this global dynamism and regional balances. Peace-promoting diplomatic tools and mediation mechanisms will help bring stability and order to regional issues.

We shall give greater effect to practical policies such as bilateral high-level strategic cooperation mechanisms, tripartite regional mechanisms, mediation initiatives and the expansion of visa waiver programs that were specifically developed by our country but have recently been narrowed in effectiveness and scope.

The deepening of bilateral high-level cooperation mechanisms, especially with Russia, Iran, Iraq, Greece, Bulgaria, Ukraine and Azerbaijan, will serve to intensify our efforts to develop peaceful relations with neighboring countries and to establish an enduring zone of stability in our neighborhood.

We believe that foreign policy should be about the national interest rather than domestic political rivalry. Our aim is to have a foreign policy perspective based on democratic values that is not trapped in global camps, takes account of the geopolitical transformation under way in the world and defies regional vicious circles in order to preserve and develop Turkey's respected place in the world in the 21st century.

We take the view that preserving Turkey's identity as an island of stability in a geopolitical environment characterized by global fragilities and regional conflicts is one of our most important duties. Based on our historical depth in foreign policy, we do not believe that any compromises should be made with respect to the security infrastructure that we need.

We want our country to draw strength from its history and become a respected and prosperous member of the modern world. To this end, we need to fight against the isolationism currently sweeping much of the world by deepening our democracy, strengthening our economy and pursuing a stable and creditable foreign policy.

We should not rely on a vision for the 21st century that is stuck between the camps of the previous century. Rather, we need a vision that chooses



our long-term interests over short-term tactical gains and separates foreign policy interests from domestic political debates. This perspective will ensure that our country maintains its political and economic influence at regional and global levels while guaranteeing our national security through the implementation of durable policies.

In this context, the rhetoric and language of our diplomacy shall be completely changed. The use of high volume populist rhetoric devoid of content prevents rational diplomacy, exposes our country to artificial crises caused by accidents of communication, and damages our international reputation. We shall adopt a diplomatic rhetoric that addresses the conscience of humanity, takes care not to exclude any international actor, and remains open to dialogue with any party except those that have committed crimes against humanity through terrorism and the use of weapons of mass destruction.

In the context of institutional renewal, we shall adopt an approach that boosts democratic participation in foreign policy making processes and entails institutional wisdom and advice. Based on our deep-rooted experience of statecraft we must strike a new balance in institutionally weakened diplomatic relations that have recently become personalized and subject to the actions of unauthorized actors. We believe that increasing the participation of our parliament, institutions and civil society in foreign policy making processes will strengthen their legitimacy and effectiveness.

On the role of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which incorporates every political segment of society, our Party does not see the construction of foreign policy as the exclusive realm of the government. We take the view that foreign relations and security policies should be operated on the basis of processes in which all representatives of the nation participate and contribute. Parliament's contribution to the areas of foreign policy making and national security shall be maximized. Symbolic representation and relations shall be replaced by the work of proactive commissions. In this way foreign policy and security-related steps can be genuinely scrutinized by our political parties, who will also fulfill the role of counselor and guide. As in successful examples around the world, we shall transform our Parliament's Foreign Affairs, Defense and Human



Rights Commissions into dynamic and effective actors in foreign policy making. Likewise, we envisage that each of the country's friendship groups will become dynamic and enduring elements in the foreign policy making process with a role that goes beyond a merely symbolic functionality.

We also believe that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is charged with the construction of foreign policy and foreign relations, needs structural reform. We shall implement a dedicated specialization program and plan in order to ensure the Ministry's successful representation of our country abroad. We shall ensure that the recruitment of career officers in the Ministry and the appointment of ambassadors from outside the Ministry is carried out on the basis of equal opportunity, merit, political ethics and transparency. We shall implement an efficient, modern, dynamic lifelong education and training program to expand our ambassadors' intellectual tools and vision, improve their local language skills and make use of their regional specialization.

We shall institute specialization by means of units and individuals who will pursue much their career in the same region or the same policy / issue area. We shall ensure more effective coordination by establishing special agencies to assess these experts. We shall make the necessary arrangements for transitivity between different levels of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, universities, other ministries and institutions, NGOs and the private sector for sabbatical and periodical employment, paid leave to gain knowledge and skills, and the sharing of resources.

Just as in other fields, recent challenges to freedom of thought have led to a narrowing of our intellectual capacity in the foreign policy field as well. The practice of regarding any foreign policy approach that diverged from the one being pursued as a kind of betrayal has led to the closure of previously influential and active research bodies one by one, or to their avoiding expressing alternative approaches. Today, we believe that this intellectual restriction must be overcome as a priority. In this context, we shall open up channels to which NGOs and universities can contribute and common platforms where original and alternative approaches will be evaluated. We believe that such an approach will enhance social



legitimacy and democratic participation in foreign policy, often perceived as an area run by closed systems, and ensure the participation of civil society in critical processes.

Global Diplomacy: Adapting to the Balance of Multiple Powers

Just as our Party believes that Turkey's interests can be protected by multidimensional, flexible external relations, we also believe in the need to pursue a foreign policy that maintains our specific weight.

Our Party has a stable and credible foreign policy and defense stance designed to protect the interests of our country and people in the face of global and regional geopolitical threats. Our perspective is based on an acute awareness of the new threats and opportunities of the 21st century, the pursuit of fresh initiatives to build on Turkey's gains, a vision of gaining new friends in the process of updating our traditional alliances, the consolidation of our relations with our historical and cultural geography, strengthening our kinship ties and developing our economic interests.

A dominant feature in global power relations today is the existence of a balance of multiple powers that varies according to the subject and the scale of the interests involved. The difference between today's balance of multiple powers and its 19th century predecessor that now, differing alliance structures and interest partnerships may emerge in different fields at the same time. For example, actors who might come together on Syria can do an about turn on Ukraine; those who collaborated on this or similar matters a year ago might foster different alliance relationships a year later.

In this context, Turkey does not have the luxury of developing strategic relations with just one or two of the global actors. Just as our policy of having a strategic relationship only with the United States in the 1990's during a period of difficulties with the EU and the Russian Federation served to restrict our field of action and influence, similar outcomes have resulted in recent years as we have had good relations only with Russia during a time of tensions in relations with the US and the EU. We believe that Turkey should recast its relations with all global actors taking into account shared interests and conjunctural factors, in which task there



is a need for sustainable institutionalization that transcends sentimental factors or personal relationships.

The 20th century witnessed the bloodiest wars and genocides in human history. Conflicts inherited from these wars, which cost the lives of more than 100 million people, continue in various ways. We entered the 21st century with the 9-11 attacks with consequences that have directly affected our region. The new era that started with the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq has profoundly shaken the global security and foreign relations architecture as well as various international alliances, especially the US and Europe. In the same period anti-democratic movements have turned into a global wave. Racism, Islamophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment are on the rise.

Our country is closely experiencing the most intense level of regional geopolitical fragility since the invasion of our neighbor Iraq in 2003. The post-invasion crisis became a wave that triggered ethnic, religious and sectarian fault lines by impacting the entire Middle East. Then Europe entered a period of vulnerability with the 2008 economic crisis that also had a wide ranging impact on Turkey. Conflicts in the Caucasus have created another high-risk zone. The absolute need for a fresh vision in managing the risks thrown up by these fragilities, whose fallout continues, is keenly felt.

We shall implement a dynamic foreign policy approach with an updated alliance map and fresh collaborations in order to eliminate threats around us and manage risks. In this context we shall update and consolidate our traditional relations in line with the political nature and economic priorities of the times, which in recent years have begun more or less entirely to redraw the regional and global alliance map. We shall construct a foreign policy base where our economic interests and security priorities, cultural and historical relations and universal values strengthen and broaden one another. This base will be a far cry from the 20th century concept of opposing camps and the disease of the 21st century, populism. Our Party's foreign policy base will be based on our interests; its backbone, the balance between security and freedom.



We take the view that Turkey needs to maintain full EU membership as a strategic goal at a time when the European Union is undergoing political turbulence. This goal has acted as a road map determining the country's main foreign policy objectives. Turkey's success in achieving multidimensionality will depend on achieving these fundamental objectives. In this framework, our relations with the European Union shall be guided by an approach that prioritizes Turkey's fundamental foreign policy parameters without veering from the goal of full membership.

We shall restructure our bilateral relations with European countries and our institutional relations with the EU in a holistic and complementary manner. Believing that EU democratic standards are an anchor for our country's democracy, our Party takes the view that these standards should be maintained independently of the EU.

We need to strengthen EU partnerships in the fight against rising populism, extremism and terrorism for the sake of regional stability. Cooperation between parties is indispensable in managing the problem of illegal immigration that has gained pace in our region especially since the invasion of Iraq.

At the same time the European Union is Turkey's most important trade partner, export market and ranks first in terms of Turkey's non-energy imports. We shall launch a fresh initiative to update the scope of the Customs Union and further enhance the EU's place in Turkey's economy with respect to reducing Turkey's losses stemming from the EU's free trade agreements with third countries.

Our EU accession negotiations have followed a bumpy road up to now. Our Party is fully aware of the issues and the origins of these issues at each stage of the process. Our Party shall do its utmost to ensure that the EU agenda does not become the stuff of domestic politics. We need to move on from arguments about 'chapters opened' and turn the negotiations into a robust initiative that will kick start a new era between Turkey and the EU.



During the Cold War our nearly two centuries-old relationship with the United States of America reached the level of a strategic alliance through our geopolitical positioning and NATO membership. However, it has proven impossible to institutionalize and reframe this strategic relationship in the post-Cold War period. Besides the changing strategic priorities of US Presidents over the past 30 years, incompatibilities between Turkey's regional security concerns and US global strategic preferences have also played a major role.

In the recent period these incompatibilities have taken on a volatile, conjunctural and personal character such that mutual respect in bilateral relations, which are critically important not only to both countries but for global and regional peace efforts, is ignored. Turning legal or economic processes that should function objectively into elements in bilateral strategic relations has served to corrode the strategic nature of Turkey-US relations.

We believe that in order to avoid any further damage between our country and the US, the strategic relations that are of such great importance for both countries as well as regional and global balances must be released from short-term month-to-month fluctuations. We must abandon an approach based on references to the Korean War and the rhetoric of an unfulfilled strategic alliance and draw a consistent and sustainable new long-term strategic framework for our relations. A balanced and harmonious relationship should be adopted by explicitly addressing both countries' strategic priorities. Relations between the two countries must be given an institutional quality autonomous from fluctuations in relations between leaders or influential players. We also believe that the effective implementation of inter-parliamentary and inter-society relations will play an important role in eliminating mutual prejudices. In addition, the scope of strategic cooperation shall be expanded to encompass economic and cultural dimensions in order to prevent relations with the United States from becoming one-dimensional and too security-oriented.

Based on both countries' interests, we shall give priority to the correct and rational positioning of the relationship of geopolitical complementarity between the United States of America, a global power located a long way



from the world's main landmass, and Turkey, a supra-regional power at the center of it, and the restructuring of this strategic relationship based on common interests.

We believe that our historical neighborly relations with the Russian Federation should be detached from the culture of the Cold War and developed along three main axes on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect: bilateral relations, Eurasian scale regional relations, and areas of global cooperation. The nature and level of our neighborly relations have great potential in the fields of energy, commerce, tourism, agriculture and the defense industry. In this context, we shall strengthen and deepen bilateral relations by consolidating cultural and inter-society relations within the framework of the Turkey-Russia High Level Cooperation Council (ÜDİK) mechanisms introduced in 2010.

Bearing in mind the fact that Eurasian-scale stability and order serves the interests of both countries, which have territory in both Europe and Asia and have long strategic histories, importance shall be given to the establishment of Eurasian-scale strategic cooperation and coordination between Turkey and Russia. In this context, we shall strive to develop a common strategic perspective and establish institutional coordination mechanisms in order to stabilize fragile structures in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Black Sea, Central Asia and the Middle East.

Care shall be taken to maintain close coordination with international organizations in the field of global cooperation especially the G20, of which Turkey is a member. And with Russia a permanent member of the UNSC, we also believe that cooperation on regional issues should be enhanced so as to boost the effectiveness of both countries in global platforms.

Regional Diplomacy: Building Peace and Stability

The Middle East and North Africa regions are main pillars of our foreign policy due to their historical ties and geographical proximity and their strategic importance in world politics and the world economy. We believe that our country should develop a realistic policy that respects the



sovereignty and territorial integrity of all neighbors and actors in the region and aims to establish peace, stability and cooperation on the basis of mutual interests. Assessing the state of affairs in the region and the world, the main axis of our Party's foreign policy vision towards the Middle East and North Africa rests on four basic elements.

The first is to ensure the end of civil wars and regional tensions inflicting such suffering and instability on our region, contribute to the establishment of post-war order and stability, and secure our border security by eliminating security threats to our country from these conflict areas. In this context our Party shall launch wide-ranging diplomatic and political initiatives to establish a stable, lasting peace and inclusive constitutional orders, ending the ongoing internal conflicts in Libya, Yemen and parts of Iraq, and especially Syria.

Ensuring the territorial integrity of our neighbors is of great importance for their security and ours. The transition to a democratic constitutional order in Syria in which all social parties can participate while preserving Syria's territorial integrity, remains crucial. This will enable our Syrian cousins who fled the civil war to our country to return to their homes; threats to our country from the north of Syria can be eliminated through the use of diplomatic and military means as required. Our Syria and Iraq policies should not be restricted to the northern regions but developed to ensure enduring stability in both countries.

On the Palestine-Israel issue, one of the principal sources of instability in our region, we shall conduct diplomatic efforts with both parties as well as regional and global actors on the basis of a just resolution based on the two sovereign states solution. In this context, our Party shall strive with states and international organizations, in particular the UN, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Arab League to avert all kinds of fait accompli and establish a sovereign Palestinian state based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, within 1967 borders and with its capital in East Jerusalem.

The second element is to strive for the establishment of a concept of regional order that includes and embraces all the peoples of the Middle



East without religious, sectarian or ethnic discrimination in order to transform the tensions reverberating round our region into an enduring order.

After all the suffering that has been endured, the key to lasting stability in the Middle East and West Asia is the formation of political orders that are at peace with their own peoples. For this reason we believe that the best method is to replace the authoritarian stability that has caused the region such pain with democratic stability based on fair elections in which all parts of society are able to participate.

The third element is that our Party will take an active role in relieving conflicts in our region and expanding trade, commercial relations and cultural interactions between societies. While maintaining existing borders, diplomacy will be directed at mobilizing people and goods to form the basis of an economic and cultural integration that renders these borders meaningless.

In this framework, we shall attach great importance to the development of relations between our citizens in this country and their kin - Turkmens, Kurds and Arabs - without discrimination. While relations with the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq are strengthened, Turkmens shall be helped to live in peace with full political participation in Erbil, Mosul, Tal Afar and Tuzhurmatu, and especially in Kirkuk.

Sunni and Nusayri Arabs, Turkmens and Kurds living along the Lattakia-Bayırbucak-Afrin-Kobani-Tell Abiad- Ras al-Ayn-Qamishli line in Northern Syria are the natural extensions and relatives of our citizens along the border. In order to ensure ethnic and sectarian peace between all these kindred societies and to cleanse this region of all kinds of terrorist activity, we shall take a close interest in these brothers and sisters of ours with whom we share bonds of kinship and history, and take care to develop relations between them.

The fourth element is paying close attention and playing a full diplomatic role in intra-regional cooperation mechanisms and in enhancing the effectiveness of regional organizations to prevent foreign military intervention as well as political and military tensions between countries in



the region that could cause the whole region, including Turkey, to become unstable.

We shall focus on developing joint mechanisms within the framework of these organizations' basic principles by overcoming problems within regional structures such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Arab League, the Gulf Cooperation Organization, and the Economic Cooperation Organization, whose influence with respect to regional issues has been progressively declining in recent years.

We regard Cyprus, which has been our most critical foreign policy issue for years, not only as a problem area but as the principal pillar of our Eastern Mediterranean strategy. It is clear that a solution based on the equal will of each of the two founding communities in Cyprus will make a significant contribution to our national interest as well as regional peace. In this context, we believe that a fresh will needs to be manifested for a lasting solution to the Cyprus issue. Whatever the direction of developments, we shall make maximum effort to ensure that the international community recognizes the justified demands of the Turkish Cypriot people as one of the island's co-owners.

Our Party strongly opposes any unilateral action that violates the rights of Turkey or the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean. The energy resources of the Eastern Mediterranean need to be evaluated as a new dynamic that can bring the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean and investor countries together as well as contribute to the resolution of geopolitical issues.

The Balkans is a key strategic area for our Party, both as an area with which we have historical and cultural ties, and as our gateway to Europe. We shall first and foremost adopt a policy to ensure that all necessary measures are taken to preserve the peace for our kin in the Balkans and not to repeat the painful scenes of the 1990s.

Our Party believes that multi-faith, multilingual and multicultural structures should be preserved within an order of wellbeing and security so that ethnic, sectarian and religious differences in the Balkans do not become a source of fragility again.



As well as improving our bilateral relations with all countries in the region, we shall develop projects to promote economic integration and economic interactions in the region. In this context, Turkey shall strongly support development and security efforts in the Balkans.

The Caucasus, our corridor to the depths of Asia, is an important geopolitical region partly populated by peoples with whom we have bonds of kinship. We shall continue to strengthen our close historical, cultural and economic relations with each of the countries in this region.

With respect to conflicts and geopolitical crises in the Caucasus, our view first of all is that countries' territorial integrity must be respected. We believe that an end to the invasions and annexations that have given rise to contradictions between international legal borders in this basin and the status quo (especially the restoration of its territorial integrity to our sister country Azerbaijan with whom we are integrated in so many ways), and the peaceful resolution of problems, are fundamental to peace and stability in the Black Sea and the Caucasus.

In order to further strengthen the foundations of peace and stability, we shall ensure that bilateral and trilateral platforms with South Caucasus countries are developed and maintained at the maximum level. We need a fresh vision that will normalize our relations with Armenia while those with Azerbaijan and Georgia are deepened. We see the normalization of relations with Armenia on the basis that historical arguments and suffering are recognized without being misused as a long overdue stabilization initiative for Turkey and our region.

Our Party's vision is to maximize our economic relations with the Caucasus, in economic terms our gateway to Central Asia. We believe that bilateral and regional collaborations should be diversified through non-energy investments to create a zone of shared prosperity.

The states of Central Asia have a special place in our country and foreign policy. We envisage that our country's relations with Central Asian states, with which we enjoy partnerships of language, culture and history, shall be deepened in a multi-dimensional and layered way. We shall work to ensure that Turkey is a leading beneficiary of Central Asia's strategic



position on energy lines and new trade routes. Deepening our bilateral relations with friendly and brotherly Central Asian Republics is a strategic imperative that should never be neglected. Our goals also include strengthening the Turkish Council and enhancing its effectiveness in the international arena.

We anticipate that the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), established right after the Turkic republics gained their independence, should be updated and strengthened to sustain its activities. Similarly, we shall strengthen the infrastructure of our other human, cultural, economic development and aid institutions operating in the region. While investments from Turkey into Central Asian countries have reached a healthy degree, foreign trade between the region and Turkey is still not at the desired level. We shall take steps to correct this imbalance.

Tourism from Turkey to the region, which has grown considerably in recent years, should be boosted and enriched by means of jointly organized awareness programs. Conscious of the fact that closer links between our societies will pave the way for geopolitical and economic cooperation, we shall implement a revamped Central Asia countries strategy.

We shall take steps to significantly raise the educational level of universities operating in Central Asian countries under Turkey's organizational umbrella. Similarly, we shall spearhead Open Universities in countries where our universities lack a presence.

With its youthful demographic composition, sense of cultural belonging, institutional capacity and positive contributions to relations between the homeland and their adoptive countries, it is time for the Turkish diaspora to take its rightful place with other diasporas in the global arena. We see the Turkish diaspora as a natural part of the Turkish nation and regard its members as we do any other one of our people, with the same sense of responsibility.



Millions of our citizens live abroad and kinship communities in other countries feel a sense of closeness to our country for historical reasons. These represent a tremendous opportunity – and to the same degree responsibility – for Turkey. Our country must formulate its foreign policy, education and cultural policies in a way that takes these opportunities and responsibilities into account.

Our Party foresees the strengthening of institutional capacity by structuring the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities in line with its new needs. The Presidency will be empowered to take responsibility for all issues relating to the Turkish diaspora. Programs to develop and expand mother tongue teaching shall be instigated. Bilingual education programs and institutions in which Turkish is the main element will be incentivized. Work to develop capacity in the struggle against Islamophobia and anti-Muslim discrimination will be carried out and the issue brought to the agenda in bilateral and multilateral platforms.

Our Party sees our relations with kinship communities abroad as another important topic. With its long history, civilizational legacy and culture, Turkey is a country that has a place not only in the hearts of its own people but millions of people from the Balkans to the Far East, the Caucasus to the Middle East and the Black Sea to South Africa, who closely follow what is going on in the country. The maintenance of well-grounded policies towards kinship communities along two main axes shall serve the interests of these communities as well as our country. We shall create special programs to improve these communities' socioeconomic situation in the countries where they live and strengthen their links (religious, linguistic, cultural etc.) to Turkey.

In Africa, which has been a particular point of interest for global political economy in recent years, we shall deepen and update the Africa initiative that our country started in the 2000's. We believe that Turkey should reach the position it deserves in what is in many aspects a relatively undiscovered economic region. Instead of deepening crises in the region, our perspective is to sustain our relations there by focusing on a humanitarian perspective, aid and investments.



We shall facilitate the development of new working areas with African countries by means of development and training activities aimed at raising institutional quality on the continent, technology transfers, joint projects and cooperation agreements. We shall build new platforms to enhance coordination between official bodies and NGOs operating in African countries, and conduct planning with a view to coordinating African investments and taking proper advantage of Africa's trade and commercial potential. To this end we shall establish an "Africa Special Representative Office" through which all Africa-related activities will be coordinated.

We take the view that our relations with South Asia, especially Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as India, are strategic in nature.

Our country's humanitarian and development aid should be maintained in order to ensure lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan. We aim to maintain our excellent relations with our sister country Pakistan. We wish to implement a new bilateral trade perspective and plan to increase the achievable capacity with respect to the economic aspect of our relations. We take the view that the Kashmir issue should be resolved through dialogue and diplomatic efforts with the involvement of the UN.

Our relations with India should be deepened. We envisage the wider and more active entry of Turkish investors and products into the Indian market as a critical target. We aim to deepen our relations with ASEAN in a results-oriented manner. The presence of Turkish products in Asia, where half the world's population live, needs to be increased. To this end we shall provide our relations with Asia with an effective political foundation and integrated institutional structure.

We take the view that our strategic relations with China, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea and Singapore, especially their economic dimension, should be deepened using various dynamics. Our main target here is to minimize the current account deficit in our foreign trade with these countries. We shall strive to deepen relations in the tourism field, which are far behind their potential.



We regard making a special effort and implementing a dedicated program to change the current structure of our trade relations with the PRC, which are skewed against Turkey, as essential.

We need to exploit the fact that Turkey's membership of the EU Customs Union makes our country the gateway to a number of markets and gives us a significant comparative advantage in our economic relations.

We shall make the necessary diplomatic efforts with the international community and Islamic countries to completely eliminate China's violation of the most fundamental human rights of Uyghur Turks and other Muslim communities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, historically known as East Turkestan.

National Defense: an Insurance Policy for the Country's Security

For a strong defense, our country needs a strong army and a sustainable, visionary defense industry. And the existence of strong armed forces bound by law is a critical element in the goal of forging a fully democratic Turkey.

Our Party has an integrated perspective on the defense of the country. The existence of modern, effective and strong Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) serving the state and rule of law against risks and threats guarantees our security.

Based on our awareness of the fact that growing terrorist activities in our region pose one of the gravest threats to the security and democracy of our country, our Party believes that a determined struggle must be waged against this threat in collaboration with other countries in the region and international institutions.

We have adopted an up-to-date understanding of security that fully responds to the needs of the age and is always prepared for the challenges and threats of the 21st century. Our security perspective is based on the protection of human dignity. The headline topics of new 21st century challenges – terrorism, cybercrime, mass migrations



etc. – show that security can only be achieved by developing international cooperation and taking joint responsibility.

Our Party envisages maximizing the capacity and capability of the security units that will tackle these various dynamics. While taking these steps, we believe that supervision and control should be effectively and transparently carried out in compliance with the principles of a fully democratic state of law and universal human rights.

Our approach to security in the context of national defense shall rest on six fundamental dynamics. The first is that we consider it vital to have a modern army that has resolved all issues concerning its capacity and competence vis-à-vis the risks and threats that confront us.

The second is that we deal with security through a perspective designed to reinforce and consolidate our country's position as a significant player in the Middle East, Eastern Mediterranean, Aegean, the Caucasus and the Balkans.

The third dynamic in our approach to security is our country's alliance platforms on different global and regional planes. We shall perform the necessary updates to our national security while safeguarding our cooperation and coordination with military, political and economic multilateral alliances. In particular, we shall endeavor to further develop the effectiveness of our position in NATO and fully embed the collective defense doctrine that constitutes the organization's founding rationale.

The fourth dynamic in our security approach is our belief that energy security is absolutely vital. Our Party believes in the meticulous maintenance of policies that will guarantee Turkey's energy supplies and their diversity.

The fifth dynamic is our commitment to maintain an uncompromising stance on the question of the security of our borders. We take the view that the necessary technological infrastructure and human resources should be continuously updated to prevent illegal movements of people, terrorism, drug trafficking and all kinds of smuggling activity.



The sixth and final dynamic is our determination to be especially sensitive to combating Hybrid Warfare methods, including cyber security, which have become one of the most widespread security problems of our times. In this regard we shall carry out a process of specialized institutionalization to ensure technological updates and capacity increases. We believe in the need to deepen the fight against Hybrid Warfare methods with the contribution of our universities and the private sector in conjunction with the technical capacity of our security forces.

Active Participation in Global Governance: Political, Economic and Cultural Restructuring

Today, humanity confronts enormous threats to its very survival. Our Party thinks that comprehensive new values systems with the contribution of states and concerned elements of civil society, and conventions based on them, are needed in countering problems that threaten the shared destiny of humankind.

One of the principal factors in the spiral of systemic crises is the loss of prestige and reputation caused by the failure to pass any effective UN Security Council resolutions even in the face of the death of millions of people, due to veto-based blockages. Our Party believes that this predicament can be overcome by using conventions and mechanisms in a process of binding reform supported by the widest possible participation.

Our Party takes the view that the most appropriate platform for institutional coordination of this kind is the G20. And the G20 needs to take on a more institutional character for this kind of global coordination and governance.

Our Party believes that structural arrangements to enable regional organizations and actors to play a more formal and effective role within the UN system will lead to the successful management of crises. International Development Cooperation is an area that our Party regards as an important linkage between states and societies.



Our Party desires the restructuring of development collaborations with a long-term, sustainable perspective that will also serve to increase the returns to our country. One of our political and economic priorities shall be the development of key strategic areas and neighboring regions in such a way as to contribute to the Turkish economy. The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) shall be restructured to implement long-term development projects in priority regions for our country.

At a time when the international political, economic and cultural order has been shaken to its core, our country has the potential to make a real difference through its rich cultural heritage, unique geopolitical location and its well-educated dynamic human element. Our party believes that our dynamic and proactive foreign policy understanding will ensure our country's active contribution to efforts to establish a new order on a global and regional scale, and that Turkey shall be an active subject, not a passive object of the international system.



CONCLUSION

Our nation desires a Turkey that promotes and protects human dignity. The principal goal of our Party is to guarantee human rights and freedoms by instituting a fully democratic state of law.

The dream of our nation is a Turkey that is able to express all its differences freely and responsibly. Our Party's *raison d'être* is to guarantee freedom of thought, expression and association.

Our nation's expectation is a Turkey that applies the law equally to all citizens without fear or favor. Our Party's commitment is the realization of a democratic state of law.

Our nation anticipates a Turkey where incomes are fairly divided. Our Party's vision is a healthily growing economy that promotes social justice and generates employment for every citizen.

The desire of our nation is a Turkey that can compete with the world. Our Party's goal is a respected, stable and sustainable foreign policy.

The problems that crush our nation's hopes and destroy its tomorrows shall not hold our future captive.



Turkey has lived in the past enough. Those who cannot govern the Turkey of today have always taken refuge in the past.

We are aware of Turkey's problems of yesterday, we know what needs to be done today and we have the hardware and determination to build tomorrow.

Our Party is the only address that brings yesterday, today and tomorrow together in our nation's feelings.

Turkey's future is bright.

The FUTURE PARTY is the name of the path to build today with faith and look to tomorrow with hope, hand in hand with the whole nation.

The future is ours.

The future is our people's.

The future is Turkey's.

